



Daily Report

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Ligachev Underscores INF's Impact on Defense
LD2305223588 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 23 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A joint session of the Foreign Affairs Commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet was held in the Kremlin today. The session continued consideration of the treaty on liquidating Soviet and U.S. intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Comrades Ligachev, Dobrynin, and Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, took part in the session. The session was chaired by Comrade Ligachev. He recalled the fact that in February this year, a working organ of the Foreign Affairs Commission, a preparatory commission, was set up which in the course of almost 3 months examined the text of the treaty in detail. A report submitted by the commission was commented on by Comrade Korniyenko, its chairman. The commission has recommended ratification of the INF Treaty. The session was addressed by Pukhova, chairman of the Committee of Soviet Women; Chelnokov, chairman of Committee of Youth Organizations; and Deputies Telepnev, Zagrebelnyy, Bagina, and Zitmanis. Comrade Dobrynin summed up the results of the discussion. The commissions recommended that the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet ratify the Soviet-U.S. treaty.

At the end of the session, Comrade Ligachev said:

[Begin Ligachev recording] I think that we can feel satisfied with the examination of the treaty on the liquidation of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles of the United States and the Soviet Union. All the speeches were proof of our complete unanimity. I think that by the act with which we today concluded the session of the commission, we at the same time, so to speak, reflected the mood in our community, the opinion of our people. Our people are of one opinion: to strengthen peace, to strengthen the security of our country, and international security as a whole.

I would like to underscore also a second point: By this treaty, we have not at all weakened the defense ability of the country but in fact have strengthened it—this is of a fundamental significance. [end recording]

Petrovskiy Views UN Special Disarmament Session
PM2405113188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 May 88 First Edition p 4

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy by own correspondent A. Maslennikov; date and place not given: "Security Through Disarmament"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] In connection with the start of the third UN General Assembly special session on disarmament that opens in New York on 31 May, our correspondent put a number of questions to V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister.

Question: The forthcoming special session is the third in the past 10 years. Why is it necessary to convene such forums if one bears in mind that disarmament issues are invariably on the agenda of regular UN General Assembly sessions and are actively discussed at the standing conference on disarmament, at bilateral and multilateral talks in Geneva and Vienna, and at meetings of non-aligned and other states?

Answer: UN General Assembly special sessions—like the regular annual sessions—are the most representative and universal forum for states participating in international relations. Unlike regular sessions, special sessions focus on the in-depth and comprehensive examination of just one or two global problems of the day.

It is natural for a third General Assembly special session to be devoted to disarmament—the central problem in ensuring mankind's survival. At the forthcoming session it is planned to continue the dialogue on questions of ensuring security through disarmament and to outline specific routes for further action to ensure that the nuclear disarmament process that started with the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. agreement on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles becomes a continuous, consistently growing, and deepening process. This session, in the opinion of many of its participants, should be a catalyst for both bilateral and multilateral efforts in the direction of the goal formulated by the United Nations for the world community—universal and complete disarmament.

Question: The first special session on disarmament adopted an extensive program of actions in favor of ending the arms race and ensuring disarmament. What have been the specific results of that program? What is hampering its implementation?

Answer: Indeed, the first special session pointed the way to specific actions that make it possible to end the arms race and initiate the process of real disarmament. Its concluding document—which formulated the concept of security by means of disarmament, outlined strategic tasks in the sphere of arms limitation and elimination, and formulated a disarmament mechanism—was particularly important. The decisions of the first UN General Assembly special session, which became known as the Disarmament Charter, were a powerful buttress for the efforts of the supporters of disarmament aimed at breaking with the stereotypes of strong-arm policy prevailing in politics and clearing the way for specific actions.

It is very important that the forthcoming session create a moral and political atmosphere which will hamper the actions of circles which still think in terms of strong-arm policies, resort to various tricks, and state that after the agreement to eliminate two classes of nuclear missiles it is necessary to "halt," do a "rethink," and compensate for the elimination of arms in one area by building them up in another. In other words, the UN potential must be mobilized to influence the international environment so

as to ensure that disarmament gets moving like an express train toward the ultimate destination of a world without weapons or violence.

Question: What are the main tasks for the forthcoming session?

Answer: The fact that the special session on disarmament, which is quite justifiably expected to be a landmark in disarmament, is taking place at the same time as the Moscow summit is useful both symbolically and in practice. The symbolism is that in today's mutually dependent world, parallel efforts are needed both in the Soviet-U.S. area of disarmament, and in all other areas, bilateral and multilateral. A kind of constructive competition and rivalry is needed which will make it possible to reinforce and enrich efforts in the disarmament sphere.

The practical use is that, taking account of the results of the Moscow summit, the UN states will be able to be more specific in outlining actions to develop the processes begun in the Soviet-U.S. area, to work out the priority tasks in ridding the world of nuclear weapons and getting military potentials down to the limits of sensible sufficiency, to give impetus to the speediest conclusion of a convention banning chemical weapons, and to outline both global and regional systems of coordinates on the road map leading to a demilitarized world. The session will also have to discuss questions of verification of disarmament.

The Soviet Union and many other countries have interesting ideas on this score. We are prepared for a businesslike and serious discussion with other countries on questions of concern to their peoples such as the use for development purposes of the funds released as a result of disarmament, and we are prepared to discuss with everyone the improvement of a multifaceted disarmament mechanism.

Question: Ensuring universal security is a vital task for all states and peoples. How can really effective participation in this matter by all states—large and small—be ensured? Can an international system (within the framework of the development of UN principles, for instance) be created, under which the decisions of international forums along the lines of UN General Assembly special sessions would be binding on all states, including the great powers?

Answer: Really effective participation by all states—large and small—in ensuring universal security can be achieved in different ways: by unilateral efforts, through bilateral efforts, and, of course, by involving everyone in international actions. In this respect the United Nations is a unique mechanism which makes it possible for all states to make their contribution to resolving certain issues. Where else is there a similar opportunity for any country to put its case to senior representatives of all states, or to submit specific proposals for their examination?

Under the UN Charter, binding resolutions are adopted at the Security Council, whose work, incidentally, is open to all states wishing to participate in it. That, in particular, is why the USSR has been raising the issue of involving the council on disarmament—particularly nuclear disarmament—efforts and of examining the problem of disarmament for development at this most important UN organ, with the participation of states' top leaders.

The UN General Assembly, according to the organization's charter, makes recommendations. But these recommendations have a special moral and political character, all the more so if they are adopted by a special session. Characteristically, there has lately been a developing trend in the UN General Assembly toward the adoption of resolutions based on consensus (general, complete agreement). Consensus resolutions, although formally recommendations, are at the same time an expression of the joint sovereign will of all UN members and represent the general balance of interests. Those international law specialists who believe that consensus resolutions create grounds for shaping the norms of international law are correct.

Question: It is well known that hitherto, the stumbling block at international conferences has often been the continuing buildup and improvement of nuclear arsenals by the great powers, particularly the United States and the USSR. This argument is usually used by those states which refuse to join the Nonproliferation Treaty. What is the current state of play on this issue?

Answer: Yes, concern at the buildup and improvement of nuclear arsenals by the great powers, particularly the USSR and the United States, has often been justifiably voiced at international forums. We heed the world community's alarmed voice and take account of it, making our own proposals to curb and reverse the nuclear arms race. Some people, however, resort to references to this in order themselves to avoid participating in the nuclear disarmament process and involvement in the Nonproliferation Treaty, which is the basis of the existing setup preventing the creeping spread of nuclear weapons around the world. Now, after the signing of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and the planned new agreements on disarmament, these references sound particularly unconvincing.

For our part, we believe that it could already be possible within the framework of the Geneva disarmament conference—which involves 40 states—to embark on a multilateral exchange of opinions on nuclear disarmament which would involve both states with nuclear weapons and the so-called "near-nuclear" powers. I think that today there are no grounds for refusing to join the Nonproliferation Treaty, which, together with the treaty on the complete and universal prohibition of nuclear tests currently being drawn up, should be a mainstay of the non-nuclear world.

Question: The third UN General Assembly special session is being held at a time when the Soviet Union has put forward a comprehensive program for ridding the world of nuclear and other types of mass destruction weaponry, and when the shoots of new thinking are more and more clearly visible in Soviet-U.S. relations and other spheres of international life. How might all this be reflected in the course of the forthcoming discussions?

Answer: It is indisputable that the situation in the world today is different from that in which the first and second General Assembly special sessions were held. The new foreign policy thinking which the Soviet Union has produced is increasingly becoming part of the world's intellectual currency. By an overwhelming majority of votes, the recent 42d UN General Assembly session came out in favor of ensuring security through political rather than military-technical means. Ideas about a non-nuclear, nonviolent world can currently be heard on all continents.

But the climate is not the only thing that has changed. The world has witnessed real action on nuclear disarmament. Needless to say, all this cannot fail to be reflected in the forthcoming discussions. For instance, I believe that there is every reason to think that the ideas and proposals that will be expressed at the third special session will be received in a less prejudiced way and will be more binding—at least in a moral and political sense—than before.

The power of new political thinking is exceptionally great. The task now is to overcome the contradiction noted by Hegel between the power of thought and the weakness of the will. The opportunities for this do exist. And we are firmly convinced that the will, enriched by being combined with thought, will become a creative force in the process of building a non-nuclear, nonviolent world and shaping comprehensive security equal for all. The Soviet Union is open to dialogue with everyone and is prepared to give all due attention to any constructive proposals and ideas from whatever source.

Analyst Kobysh Notes Need for Disarmament
LD2405230488 Moscow TASS in English 2235 GMT
24 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—"Soviet public expects that the upcoming session of the U.N. General Assembly will lend the collective authority of the world community to the first practical steps in the field of nuclear disarmament and provide a powerful impetus to all negotiations to limit and curtail the arms race." This was said by political news analyst Vitaliy Kobysh who is deputy chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee. He spoke at the briefing on "The Third Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly on Disarmament: Expectations and Prospects," held at the international public centre for following the Soviet-American summit meeting.

Vitaliy Kobysh said that the session, which opens in New York on May 31, and the Moscow meeting of the Soviet and American leaders "logically complement one another." "In the nuclear and space age," Kobysh said, "a lasting peace and international security cannot be safeguarded only through the efforts of the great powers: Participation of the entire international community is necessary for that."

In our interdependent world, disarmament is inseparable from development, Kobysh went on to say. The session participants have to speak up for slashing the military budgets, and for utilising the means now consumed by the arms race, to combat hunger and diseases in the developing nations and to tackle ecological and other problems."

In addition to the official delegation, the special session of the U.N. General Assembly will be attended by representatives of the Soviet Peace Committee and of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Committee, of the Soviet U.N. Association, of other public organizations as well as by a large group of scientists specialising in disarmament. They will take part in discussions in meetings with non-governmental organizations and in the parallel "International Peace Conference" action to be organized by the American anti-war centres.

Nazarkin-Led CW Experts Visit UK Facilities
LD2305060888 Moscow TASS in English 0600 GMT
23 May 88

[Text] London May 23 TASS—Under an agreement between the USSR and Britain, providing for the visit by the two countries' representatives of the chemical weapons production facilities in Porton Down, Britain, and Shikhanii, USSR, a group of Soviet experts arrived in the British capital Sunday. It is led by Yuriy Nazarkin, head of the USSR delegation at the conference on disarmament in Geneva.

The Soviet experts will conduct today the first round of consultations with representatives of the British Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence, following which they will go to Porton Down. They will gain familiarization there with the chemical warfare facility, the scientific research work conducted in it, will exchange views with British specialists.

Apart from this facility, the Soviet specialists will also tour the Center of Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Weapons of the Defence Ministry and the Microbiological Research Center. The reply visit by British experts to Shikhanii is planned for June 30-July 2, 1988.

The goal of these visits is to promote confidence and mutual understanding between the two countries in the light of the ongoing negotiations in Geneva on concluding a convention on a total and global ban and destruction of chemical weapons.

Nazarkin Comments

LD2405175088 Moscow TASS in English 1640 GMT
24 May 88

[Text] Porton Down (Wiltshire County) May 24 TASS—
TASS correspondent Igor Peskov reports:

Under an agreement between the USSR and Great Britain, providing for visits by representatives of the two countries to chemical warfare facilities in Porton Down (Britain) and Shikhan (USSR), a team of Soviet experts arrived here today, led by Yuriy Nazarkin, Soviet chief negotiator at the conference on disarmament in Geneva. The team includes experts from the Ministry of Chemical Industry, the Defence and Foreign Ministries of the USSR.

During the first day of familiarizing with the facility, the Soviet specialists were shown samples of individual protective means, equipment used to decontaminate military equipment and weapons, medical means and first-aid preparations to treat those who have been exposed to chemical weapons. A British Army team showed the Soviet experts and the media people ways of practical utilisation of these means and the mode of operation of the notification system in a situation in which the enemy threatens the use of chemical weapons. The Soviet experts will stay in Porton Down for another two days during which they will have more detailed exchanges of opinions with British counterparts and visit the production and research laboratories of the centre.

Our visit to Porton Down has just begun and it is yet early to issue any comments on it, Yuriy Nazarkin said in an interview. But the very fact of the exchange of visits to chemical warfare facilities of the USSR and Great Britain is an important step in confidence-building needed for the successful negotiations to conclude a convention on the complete and universal prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons, now pursued at Geneva. We hope that such measures ought to speed up the process of negotiations and contribute to an early conclusion of the convention." [quotation marks as received]

**Comparison of Commissions' INF Treaty
Discussion**

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 24 May carries in its Second Edition on page 4 a report on the USSR Supreme Soviet Foreign Affairs Commissions' discussion on ratifying the INF Treaty. The PRAVDA report, "On the Path of Real Disarmament: Joint Session of USSR Supreme Soviet Chambers' Foreign Affairs Commissions," has been compared with the TASS International Service version published in the 24 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 2-4, revealing the following variations:

Page 2:

Column one, paragraph one, line three reads in PRAVDA: ...met in the Kremlin on 23 May to continue consideration... (providing date)

Column one, paragraph three, line two reads in PRAVDA: ...assembled about today's CPSU Central Committee... (changing "today's" to "yesterday's")

Column two, line two reads in PRAVDA: ...put forward a whole series of important... (adding "whole")

Column two, paragraph five, line two reads in PRAVDA: ...the principle of equal and identical security... (changing "equal" to "even")

Column two, paragraph six, line three reads in PRAVDA: ...of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles that the... (changing "short-" to "shorter-")

Column two, paragraph six, line eight reads in PRAVDA: ...There are no objective grounds for such... (adding "objective")

Page 3:

Column one, paragraph one, line one reads in PRAVDA: ...are ready to ensure the prompt and precise fulfillment of the treaty and, after the... (rewording)

Column one, paragraph one, line three reads in PRAVDA: ...treaty of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, will... (changing "short-" to "shorter-")

Column one, paragraph four, line four reads in PRAVDA: ...youth, and all the Soviet public for the historic INF Treaty. It is essential to do everything possible to ensure that the treaty is ratified by both sides and to see that... (rewording)

Column one, last paragraph, line two reads in PRAVDA: ...meeting and the INF Treaty, as is well known, had not been... (adding phrase)

Column one, last paragraph, line five reads in PRAVDA: ...declared to the whole world that a... (adding "whole")

Column two, paragraph four, line seven reads in PRAVDA: ...Democratization of the whole life of Soviet... (adding "whole")

Column two, paragraph five, last line reads in PRAVDA: ...the partners in interstate relations. (changing "intergovernmental" to "interstate")

Page 4:

Column two, paragraph one, line eight reads in PRAVDA: ...and international security as a whole. The speaker said... (adding phrase)

Komsomol's Mironenko Addresses Prague Meeting
PM2405130588 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 21 May 88 p 3

[Report by "our own correspondent" Ye. Nefedov:
"Resolving Together"]

[Text] Prague—The conference of leaders of the central committees of the socialist countries' fraternal youth unions opened in Prague yesterday. The theme of the meeting is young people's international cooperation at the new stage of socialism's development.

What are the role and place of the younger generation in this complex work? What specifically can and should be done by the people who have grown up under socialism for the further consolidation of its positions, the growth of the dynamics of its development, and the enhancement of its prestige in the world community?

The participants in this conference came to Prague to seek jointly the answers to these questions. The leaders of the youth unions of Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, the DPRK, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia have gathered here.

The delegation from the Lenin Komsomol consists of V. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; S. Chelnokov, chairman of the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations; P. Ignatas, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; S. Zhuravlev, Komsomol Central Committee department chief; and A. Chernosvitov, deputy chairman of the Komsomol Central Committee "Sputnik" International Youth Tourism Bureau.

The talk at the conference, which was opened by Vasil Mohorita, chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Youth Union Central Committee, is proceeding along three avenues: the role of youth organizations and the consolidation of their cooperation at the present stage of socialism's development; the state and prospects of international exchange and youth tourism; and the progress of preparation for the 13th world festival of youth and students.

V. Mironenko spoke during the discussion of the first of these themes. He noted that under the new conditions the intensification of collaboration between the youth unions is acquiring an increasingly important role. This is conditioned by a number of factors. First, the speaker said, our responsibility for the destiny of socialism is growing and we must analyze together our joint experience of the practical implementation of its potential. Second, our senior comrades—the fraternal parties—

have considerably expanded and deepened their cooperation recently, and we are faced with the task of using this experience. Third, the very internal logic of the development of our unions and of the entire international youth movement requires an improvement in collaboration.

In this connection, V. Mironenko continued, I should like to share our experience of work under the conditions of restructuring, particularly since the 20th Komsomol Congress. We have been convinced that only an honest analysis of achievements and problems can provide an opportunity for the development of our organization and for fruitful dialogue with our friends from the fraternal youth unions.

The process of restructuring in the Komsomol is proceeding in a complex manner. It still lacks pace, depth, and magnitude. And the main brake here lies in ourselves. The Komsomol is now faced with two very important interconnected domestic political goals: the enhancement of the role of the youth union in the country's sociopolitical life and the consolidation of its prestige and influence on the processes taking place among young people.

The speaker then dwelled on the specific affairs of Komsomol members and all Soviet young people in the economic, social, and ideological spheres. He analyzed the state of the Komsomol's cooperation with the fraternal youth unions.

In our view, V. Mironenko said, the time has come to form new types of mutual relations in this sphere. Grounds for this are provided by the intensified coordination of our relations on various salients of work, the constructive changes in the content and nature of our meetings, and the growth of interest in each other and of openness in contacts. The development of a new type of mutual relations is a collective process, but it should be carried out on the basis of the principles of full autonomy, equal rights, responsibility, consideration for each union's interests, and concern for common interests and goals. No single one of our organizations is the leader, no single one is the led.

A requirement of the times is the scientific consideration of our cooperation and the prospects for its development. V. Mironenko submitted for the conference's discussion proposals on pooling the efforts of the youth unions' scientific research centers in the development of a joint targeted comprehensive "Youth Cooperation: Model and Prospects" project. He also dwelled on problems connected with the practical implementation of the "Collaboration" program and other questions of international youth cooperation.

Gerasimov on Reform, Relations With U.S.

PM2405160188 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET
in Swedish 21 May 88 p 5

[Interview with Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov by former Finnish UN Ambassador Max Jakobson: "The Soviet Union Has Fallen Behind"—date, place not given]

[Text] Max Jakobson: The summit in Moscow at the end of May can be expected to be one of the major media events of the century. For President Ronald Reagan, it could mean winning a place in history as a peacemaker. For General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, it is still too early to make any predictions about his posthumous reputation. The party conference, which takes place a month after the summit, is bound to be in Gorbachev's thoughts. I assume that Reagan's visit—the first by an American president since 1972 and only the second ever—will strengthen Gorbachev's position, like his decision to bring home the troops from Afghanistan.

Gennadiy Gerasimov: The forthcoming party conference is very important for mobilizing active support for perestroika. But I think it is wrong simply to see the summit from the Soviet party leader's viewpoint. A more productive approach would be to see the meeting against the background of Soviet-U.S. relations. The meeting means that relations are back on a footing of dialogue and cooperation.

But apart from the Moscow meeting's symbolic meaning, it will, we think, also be able to produce concrete results. We would have liked an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic nuclear arms, which could have been signed by President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev in Moscow. Unfortunately, the prospect of this seems small. We also think we have made great progress toward an agreement for a ban on, and destruction of chemical weapons. We should at least arrive at a declaration on this in Moscow. We could also take a step toward a comprehensive agreement on a nuclear test ban.

Further, we are prepared to exchange information about arms and troops in Europe as soon as possible. We do not want to lose our momentum in the work for disarmament. The agreement scrapping intermediate-range missiles is not enough as long as the arms race continues. Both sides could get around the accord. Today Reagan is what is called a "lame duck." There will be a change in Washington next year, and this creates uncertainty.

Max Jakobson: There is something ironic in the fact that only a few years ago you bad-mouthed Reagan, yet today, you are eager to enter into as many agreements as possible with him before he leaves the White House. President Reagan himself has explained this change in the Soviet attitude with the argument that he himself pursues a policy of strength. What is your view?

Gennadiy Gerasimov: I agree that there have been dramatic changes in Soviet-U.S. relations in the last 2 or 3 years. Why? Well, as I see it, the answer is very simple, at least in part. There has been a leadership change in the Soviet Union. A new leader came to power and carried out a reevaluation of our policies in light of the need to restructure the Soviet economy.

But the U.S. attitude has also changed. Perhaps the arms race has been too great a burden on the U.S. economy. The United States has acquired a large budget deficit, and the dollar has been weakened. Perhaps we are also witnessing a change at the philosophical level. When Reagan came to power, he directed many different words of abuse at the Soviet leader and spoke about "the evil empire." Today he says that he can trust Gorbachev. He says that Gorbachev is Lenin's disciple and that Lenin advocated peaceful coexistence and was even prepared to learn from U.S. capitalism—and this is correct. To use an American expression: Today Reagan would buy a used car from Gorbachev. In other words, you could say that trust is being developed.

Max Jakobson: Secretary of State Shultz seems to personify the traditional pragmatic attitude toward the Soviet Union. Ideological issues have been toned down in U.S. foreign policy. But frequently, politicians continue to play the same old records. This happens in the United States, and in the Soviet Union, too, you hear the old music mixed up with Gorbachev's newer melodies.

Gennadiy Gerasimov: Everybody likes old tunes. I agree that ideology is less important than it was. But it is not easy to engage in diplomatic cooperation with the United States. There is a lack of clear continuity between administrations. Every new president starts from scratch. They do not really know what foreign policy is all about and take a year to study the subject. Then they have a foreign policy of their own for 2 years, but in the last year of their term, they are busy preparing for the next election.

Max Jakobson: Between Eisenhower and Reagan, the United States did not have a president who remained in office for two terms. Each president described his foreign policy as completely new. However, in content, there has been a fundamental continuity in U.S. foreign policy. Meanwhile, the Soviet leadership was preserved unchanged, but the price of this was economic stagnation. This time it is the Soviet leader who says that he has implemented a new foreign policy.

Gennadiy Gerasimov: One result of the years of stagnation has been that the Soviet Union has fallen behind in many areas of modern technology. What has held the economy back has been a preoccupation with quantity. Every year even more of the same goods must be produced. That also applied to the military industry.

Under the new leadership, we have concentrated our efforts on modernizing the economy. We must catch up with the rest of the world in the field of advanced technology. Our foreign policy must be subordinated to our internal needs. Foreign policy must be a support for creating favorable conditions for development of Soviet society. We have noted that the world of today is too multifaceted to be assessed simply from the viewpoint of Soviet-U.S. relations.

Today we attach great importance to the West European and Asian countries. We have also begun to develop relations with Latin America, relations which we almost ignored in the past. Several officials in the Foreign Ministry's higher echelons have been replaced, and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze travels throughout the world with unsurpassed endurance. In 3 years he has covered more territory than was visited in a decade in the past. He also encourages our diplomats to adopt a more integrated view of the world.

Recently he criticized them for not reporting home when there are changes in the world economy, when oil and gas prices have fallen. This has had a damaging effect on Soviet foreign trade. Shevardnadze reminded the diplomats that even Yevgeniy Onegin, the well-known hero of Pushkin's work, had read Adam Smith. It is not enough to have read Karl Marx.

Max Jakobson: I wish that our diplomats, too, had read Adam Smith. But what you have described are changes of method rather than changes in content.

Gennadiy Gerasimov: What is changing is where we place the emphasis. We put greater emphasis on political means than on military strength. We have introduced the concept of "reasonable sufficiency" as a guideline in our strategic thinking. By this we mean that we should have Armed Forces that are reasonable only for our own defense. The military is still demanding that this must be a change which is reciprocal.

Max Jakobson: The statement Gorbachev made in February, when he welcomed an "independent, nonaligned, and neutral Afghanistan" as a good neighbor, marks a fundamental change of attitude by the Soviet Government to the countries along the Soviet border. This brings me back to Europe. You have already mentioned the importance of strategic doctrines. Are not the doctrines being applied in Europe and the military groupings which follow from them out of step with the times, in that they are based on the lessons of World War II? The Soviet Union's combat forces are grouped as though to meet an attack like Hitler's in 1941. The Western powers also think in terms of a tank advance through central Europe.

The new generation on both sides—I would like to call it the post-postwar generation—has begun to question the validity of this. In the West, the fear of communism has begun to die down. On the Soviet side, I cannot imagine that anyone seriously expects a repetition of German aggression.

Gennadiy Gerasimov: There are still remnants of the old generation and of the old thinking. I agree that a war in Europe, if it ever happens, will be very different from the last one. It would not be possible to limit it: It would develop into a nuclear war, which would mean suicide for Europe. But nevertheless, we have these systems deployed there, as if for attack or defense, and they amount to an enormous institution.

But it is true that the new generation has a different view. I recently visited Leiden University in the Netherlands, and it struck me that the students there did not simply talk about Europe in terms of Western Europe but also included the whole of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals. And they wanted to see Europe involved in European questions. On our side, we used to view West European institutions, such as the EEC and the Council of Europe, as reactionary. We do not do so any longer; we accept them as part of the European reality.

Max Jakobson: Gorbachev has used the phrase "common security," a phrase first used by the so-called Palme commission in its report 5 years ago. This was intended to make a clean break with the traditional view of security, which has guided the Soviet approach until now.

Gennadiy Gerasimov: The Russian view of security has been created on the basis of historical memories of repeated invasions from the West. But today, even many of our military men agree that we have perhaps over-insured ourselves. We now realize that if we are ever attacked again, it will happen in a completely different way from what we have experienced in the past.

What about a Soviet invasion of Western Europe? No such invasion has ever taken place in history, unless you count the Russian cossacks who took part in the campaign against Napoleon. It is a myth that is used to justify the existence of NATO. Today we accept the findings of the Palme commission report that no country can guarantee its own security using its own methods and means; it can do so only in cooperation with others.

Max Jakobson: As you point out, traditional defense thinking is deeply rooted everywhere. Military establishments are always decidedly conservative, but you have to say in defense of the generals that it is their task to be cautious and skeptical and to be always prepared for the worst. To what extent are Soviet military leaders prepared to embrace the concept of "common security"?

Gennadiy Gerasimov: I believe that they are moving in that direction because they have accepted the idea of "reasonable sufficiency." But I cannot say that this has been reflected yet in practice.

Max Jakobson: As you know, outside the Soviet Union there is speculation about differences between Gorbachev and the military leadership.

Gennadiy Gerasimov: The decision to eliminate intermediate-range missiles and other decisions in the field of disarmament have been made collectively. Views have been canvassed from the Central Committee, the intelligence services, the Foreign Ministry, and even from the military leaders. As you said, the generals of every country have a conservative approach to these questions, but I would not want to say that there are antagonisms.

Max Jakobson: We have still not talked about the cornerstone of Gorbachev's policies—perestroika.

Gennadiy Gerasimov: On that point, developments are slow. It is impossible to change an economy overnight. That is why people complain when they do not see any changes in the shops. This is nothing new. I recently had an opportunity to reread some works by Maksim Gorkiy, one of our greatest authors, when we celebrated the 110th anniversary of his birth in March. A recurrent theme in his writings was: I love Russia; I cannot envisage living in any other country, but the Russian people love talking about their problems more than doing something about them. This is still our problem. The speed of change depends on people themselves.

Max Jakobson: Gorbachev uses moral arguments to convince people that things must change. But it is difficult to convince them without material incentives, and these cannot exist before people have changed their way of working.

Gennadiy Gerasimov: I agree. But Gorbachev also appeals to national pride. He says: "We have knowledge. Why can we not make a car which measures up to international standards?" But people are used to getting life's necessities without needing to work very hard. The prices of basic goods such as food and clothes are subsidized, as are rents. Some people prefer to go on this way. They are not prepared to give something extra to improve their living standards.

You must also remember that our revolution was a revolution of the proletariat, with a strong emphasis on equality. If someone has something that cannot normally be achieved by everyone, like a car or dacha, people have a tendency to think that this should be taken from that person rather than that they should put a little more work into getting there themselves. In the United States, it is the other way around.

Max Jakobson: What are the political consequences of the various national antagonisms and conflicts, as most recently between Armenians and Azerbaijanis, which have now emerged into the full light of day?

Gennadiy Gerasimov: We ourselves are not used to glasnost, but nor are you in the West used to glasnost in the Soviet Union. As soon as problems like those between Armenia and Azerbaijan are reported, experts in the West, such as U.S. historian Richard Pipes, hasten to write about the "decline of the empire." But the Soviet

Union cannot be called an empire any more than India, for example, can: India is also a society with many nationalities and languages. But this does not mean that there are no problems between the 120 different nationalities in the Soviet Union.

Until recently we have followed the dictum of Oscar Wilde, who said that what you do not talk about does not exist. But now, with glasnost, we deal with problems more openly. In the case of Armenia, we are trying to meet the justified dissatisfaction among Armenians living in Azerbaijan. Without doubt, there are also many other national problems in the Soviet Union, and Gorbachev has said that we must pay more attention to them. But this does not mean that the country is falling apart.

Max Jakobson: Gorbachev has pointed several times to the resistance and opposition to perestroika. In a speech recently, he spoke of an "intense confrontation" involving perestroika. How strong is this opposition?

Gennadiy Gerasimov: There is no political opposition, as you would describe it in the West. There is a bureaucratic, or institutional, resistance to change, but it is not politically organized. There is no antiperestroika party or any opposition program. But, of course, there are many within the bureaucracy who are worried that they will lose their jobs, privileges, or comfortable way of life. There are also others who, for psychological reasons, find it difficult to accept changes.

Max Jakobson: The real test of Gorbachev's reforms will, of course, be the economy. We have already touched on one of the fundamental problems facing the Soviet Union in this field: its great dependence on energy and raw materials exports. As a result of structural changes in the world economy, the relative value of natural resources has fallen. This is a long-term trend.

Thus, the Soviet Union has an interest in producing manufactured goods which can compete on the world market. I believe that Soviet economists agree that the Soviet economy must be integrated into the world economy. There is no other way of injecting the necessary competition into the Soviet economy and thereby stimulating the type of production which will be needed.

Gennadiy Gerasimov: We are facing the need for new steps in that direction. In the past, we achieved a great deal as far as economic development was concerned, but we have done so in isolation from the world market. One effect of this has been that our production is in the hands of various monopolies, and monopolies have a tendency to stagnate. Now we are starting to give our enterprises access to foreign markets. However, the problem lies in the fact that they lack the experience and skills to act on the international market.

It will take time before they learn how to become successful. We also have to change our pricing because our prices are often wrong. We often say jokingly that the day the world goes over to communism, we must make sure that at least one country remains capitalist, perhaps New Zealand or Finland, so that we will still be able to find out what the correct prices are on the world market.

Our price system must be reshaped before we can allow the ruble to be convertible into other currencies. All this will take time, but meanwhile, it is important to create joint ventures between Soviet and foreign companies and other forms of economic cooperation between East and West.

Kashlev Views Progress of Vienna CSCE Meeting
AU1905191788 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT
in Bulgarian 18 May 88 p 1

[Article by Yuriy Kashlev, ambassador and leader of the USSR delegation to Vienna CSCE meeting: "Time for Decisionmaking;" written especially for OTECHESTVEN FRONT]

[Text] The Vienna meeting of the states participating in the CSCE is entering a decisive stage.

Now the main task is to complete the preparation of the concluding document, which should be balanced and take the interests of every group of states into the utmost consideration.

What agreements are to be expected by the Vienna meeting?

The work of the Conference on Confidence-Building and Security and Disarmament Measures in Europe, the first part of which took place from 1984 to 1986 in Stockholm, will resume its work after the end of the Vienna CSCE meeting. The 35 participants in this conference must work out a new complex of mutual measures on confidence and security, which will supplement each other. Simultaneously, talks will begin on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. Those talks will be conducted by the representatives of 23 countries, members of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. It is assumed that both talks will already begin this year.

In everything related to the "second basket," the delegations of the socialist countries are striving to incorporate in the concluding document of the meeting agreements which would raise to a new level cooperation among the 35 states in the areas of trade, economy, science, technology, and environmental protection. Unfortunately, this line has not always been supported by the NATO states. Some of these states are acting in Vienna in the spirit of the famous Cocom, which bans the sale of many goods and products to the socialist countries. In the

opinion of the socialist countries, elimination of such artificial barriers on the road to developing trade and scientific relations is what the Vienna meeting should deal with.

Every participant in the Vienna meeting agrees that a significant expansion of cooperation among states in everything related to implementing human rights and humanitarian relations must correspond to the present level of international relations. The socialist countries support the expansion of contacts among organizations and people in order to intensify the cultural and information exchange, promote greater cooperation in education, and so forth. In Vienna, all this is called the "human dimension" of the all-European process. This definition coincides with the line of the Soviet state, and Mikhail Gorbachev's appeal to assert humanity in international relations. In general, we think the time has come to transfer humanitarian issues from the arena of confrontation to the sphere of cooperation. It was this very element that lies behind the USSR's proposal to convene in Moscow an all-European conference on developing humanitarian cooperation, an issue which has yet to be discussed at the Vienna meeting.

At the same time, we must point out that many NATO states have yet to give up the old confrontational approach toward humanitarian issues, and are trying to use them to apply pressure on the socialist countries. It is precisely because of the confrontational approach of many West European states that many specific humanitarian problems remain unsolved at the Vienna meeting, and sharp discussions related to those problems are continuing.

Despite all this, the idea of creating a new mechanism of consultation and cooperation in human rights, within the framework of the all-European process, is asserting itself. In this context, there are proposals to convene a special meeting on the "human dimension" of the Helsinki process, as well as an all-European information forum in London, a seminar on cultural heritage in Krakow, and so forth.

If goodwill, a constructive approach, and new thinking are evident, we can hope that all open issues can be solved, positively and that the concluding document of the meeting will give new impulses to the all-European process.

Burlatskiy on Paris Human Rights Conference
PM2405102688 Paris L'HUMANITE in French
19 May 88 p 17

[Jean George report: "Major Shake-Up"]

[Text] The Soviets and the Americans have spent a week in Paris "airing their dirty laundry" in private in connection with human rights. Fedor Burlatskiy revealed this yesterday at a news conference which he gave at the NOVOSTI offices. He was accompanied by Yelena

Lukacheva, a jurist; novelist Vladimir Dudintsev, author of "Man Does Not Live by Bread Alone," which caused quite a stir in Krushchev's day; Boris Nazarov, another jurist; and Vitaliy Ignatenko, chief editor of the magazine NOVOYE VREMYA. All five are members of the Social Commission on International Cooperation, Humanitarian Questions, and Human Rights, which Burlatskiy chairs.

In January, they took part in an international forum in the Netherlands. The idea emerged for another Soviet-American meeting in Paris for a "very frank" debate which has left the two sides "satisfied" after reaching "a degree of consensus."

Fedor Burlatskiy, who is also one of the main contributors to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, stressed the "main difference" between the two delegations. "We are concerned with guaranteeing human rights in our country. Our American colleagues tend to present themselves as prophets for countries other than their own."

This did not prevent them from reaching some "cooperation options," including the exchange of delegations of jurists, and the exchange of information, the decision to propose practical measures on cases of human rights violations in the USSR and the United States, and the organization of an international meeting.

Another highlight of the week in Paris was a meeting between the Soviet officials and Amnesty International's secretary general, who made a special trip from London. This "first contact" took up three sessions, over 1 and 1/2 days of talks. It led to a joint approach to the ratification of the UN human rights pacts adopted in 1966.

"I think there is a new style in this sphere, which udes to be one of confrontation. Mutual criticism does not prevent cooperation," Burlatskiy concluded. The commission he heads, which was formed last year, is now attending its fourth international meeting.

Answering journalists' questions, even the most provocative ones from "experts" employed by the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and several other agencies, the Soviet official stressed the far-reaching process of democratization which is taking place in his country. "We must take the Helsinki accords as the basis. We have taken our affairs in hand. Perhaps you will do likewise with yours."

Regarding the black years of repression and their effects, he stressed: "It is Stalinism which must be eradicated," adding that limiting this process to Stalin himself and his era "would be playing into the bureaucrats' hands."

Questioned on the Soviet trade unions' contribution to this process, Burlatskiy said that some trade union members were members of the Human Rights Commission, and that the labor collective councils are involved

in it. "The bureaucratization of the trade unions," he added, "is the worst example. It is a very serious problem," which "will take time" to solve "despite the new law on the enterprises."

This "revolution," Burlatskiy explained, is taking place "in the context of a fairly serious struggle between conservative, traditionalist forces and more progressive ones." The democratization of Soviet society, which depends on "the development of the masses' political culture," will be one of the central points of the 19th CPSU Conference in June.

A political struggle is being waged over the appointment of delegates to this conference. Gorbachev and the party leadership are insisting that the traditional "model" for selection be abandoned, namely the selection of specific proportions of workers, young people, and women, to ensure that supporters of restructuring are sent to Moscow. Some local leaders are refusing to change their ways. "It would be naive to think there will only be supporters of restructuring, but I think they will have a majority," Burlatskiy said.

Gorbachev Greets International Film Festival

PM2505100588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 May 88 Second Edition p 1

["To the Participants and Guests of the 10th International Film Festival of the Countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in Tashkent"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] I cordially greet the participants and guests of the 10th International Film Festival in Tashkent.

The arts have a unique ability to bring people closer together and forge spiritual ties between countries and peoples. The earth is our common home, and it is only natural that the international public is now understanding, in an increasingly clear way, the importance of collective efforts to preserve it, to create conditions for the free development of all nations and national cultures, and to strengthen the ideas of goodness, peace, and internationalism.

Cinematographers have great opportunities to promote the expansion of international cooperation and trust, and to assert the new political thinking. I hope the Tashkent festival will serve the implementation of this very important mission.

I wholeheartedly wish the guests and participants of the film festival creative successes, health, and happiness.

M. Gorbachev.

Peace Rally Sends Message to Gorbachev, Reagan
LD2305201188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1700 GMT 23 May 88

[Summary] A torch lit 43 years ago from the embers of the nuclear-induced Hiroshima fire has been paraded through Moscow on its way from Tokyo to New York and the third special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament. A little bit of this flame has remained in Moscow with the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace. A rally was held at its offices today by representatives of the peace movement from Western Europe, the United States, Canada, New Zealand, and the USSR, and was devoted to the opening of the information center established for the upcoming Moscow summit.

"Participants in the rally adopted a message to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan. It reads in part: We believe that your fourth meeting will facilitate the establishment of an atmosphere of mutual understanding in the world community—something that is so important for the cooperation of all the world's peoples in the name of the survival of mankind."

Newsman Briefed on Upcoming Christian Millennium
PM2305131588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 May 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "On the Eve of the Anniversary"]

[Text] A briefing was held on 20 May in the USSR Commission on UNESCO Affairs in connection with the 1,000th anniversary of the introduction of Christianity to Russia. Yu.Ye. Karlov, a senior secretary of the commission, reminded those present that the UNESCO Executive Council approved a resolution in June 1987 on UNESCO involvement in the celebration of the 1,000th anniversary of Russian Christianity. The document contained an appeal to the scientific and cultural community in UNESCO member-states to "celebrate this important anniversary."

Answering questions from representatives of the press, K.M. Kharchev, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Religious Affairs Council, talked about the relationship between church and state in the Soviet Union and the substantial changes recently begun in this sphere. Touching on the question of legislation guaranteeing freedom of conscience, K.M. Kharchev said that "laws effective in the USSR which were adopted in 1929 have been substantially distorted in practice as a result of later additions and instructions. Any additions running counter to the purport of these laws have been abolished. They no longer exist."

Addressing the briefing, Yuvenaliy, member of the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church and metropolitan of Krutitskiy and Kolomna, briefed journalists on progress made in preparations for the anniversary.

Metropolitan Yuvenaliy talked of the satisfaction with which believers and members of the church had received the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and Pimen, patriarch of Moscow and all the Russias, and other church leaders.

IAEA-CEMA Nuclear Power Safety Group Meets
LD2405222288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 24 May 88

[Text] In the choice of a strategy for nuclear power engineering, priority is now given to the factor of maximum safety. This, or specifically, research in the area of modeling accident situations at nuclear power stations, was discussed at a coordination meeting that has opened in Moscow. The session, which was organized by the IAEA and the CEMA Secretariat, involved specialists from 17 countries. Today, Soviet and foreign journalists were told about a program of coordinated studies designed to work out general approaches to evaluating the safety of nuclear projects with the help of modern methods.

Journalists were specifically interested in why nuclear power engineering specialists do not react to public proposals, for example, to the idea of building nuclear power stations far from towns, or even underground. Sidorenko, first deputy chairman of the State Committee for Safety in the Atomic Power Industry, replied by noting that the siting of stations is undoubtedly a safety factor, but only one of many. This problem must be solved, he stressed, within a complex of engineering, ecological, and economic parameters.

The IAEA has set up several groups of specialists who will conduct operational examinations of the safety of nuclear power stations in various countries. This year, nuclear power stations in Hungary, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia will be surveyed, and next year's work will cover stations in Japan and Britain.

Dobrynin, Interaction Council Delegate Confer
PM2005103988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 May 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meeting at CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with Olusegun Obasanjo, former head of the Nigerian Federal Government and a participant in the Moscow session of the Interaction Council, on 19 May.

Some questions of present-day international life and Soviet-Nigerian relations were discussed. The interlocutors paid special attention to the problems of southern

Africa and the struggle to eliminate apartheid, racism, and colonialism. At his own request, the guest was given an account of the course of restructuring in the USSR and preparations for the 19th all-union party conference.

Isa Modibbo, Nigerian ambassador to the USSR, and A.Yu. Urnov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, took part in the friendly meeting.

United States & Canada

Preparations for Moscow Summit Continue

U.S. Cabinet Meets

LD2505082288 Moscow TASS in English 0715 GMT
25 May 88

[Text] Washington May 25 TASS—A cabinet meeting was held in the White House on Tuesday under the chairmanship of President Reagan to discuss preparations for the upcoming Soviet-American summit in Moscow.

According to an official spokesman for the White House, later in the day President Reagan met with members of the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, at which views were exchanged on the status of the talks on limitation of strategic offensive weapons.

Speaking on the USIA's "Worldnet" the U.S. chief executive expressed the hope that the USSR and the USA would be able to complete the drafting of an agreement on strategic offensive weapons in the course of the current year. "We've witnessed one historic result, a signing during the Washington summit last December of the historic INF Treaty. That treaty which for the first time in history will eliminate a whole class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles," he said.

Addressing a briefing, Marlin Fitzwater, an official spokesman for the White House, said that the President keeps saying that he does not exclude the possibility of one more summit meeting if the treaty on strategic offensive arms is ready for signature before the end of the year, and this is always possible. Fitzwater said that an agreement on strategic offensive arms would be "the main cause" for holding another summit meeting.

Reagan Speaks on 'Worldnet'

LD2505003788 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1620 GMT 24 May 88

[Text] Washington, 24 May (TASS)—TASS correspondents Igor Ignatyev and Nikolay Turkatenko report:

Before flying to Helsinki on his way to Moscow for the next Soviet-U.S. summit, President Reagan spoke on "Worldnet," a USIA television network. He expressed his confidence that the USSR and the United States will be able to reach a START agreement this year to reduce strategic offensive arms. "Already," he said, "we have witnessed one historic result: During the Washington summit last December the historic INF Treaty was signed...which for the first time in history will eliminate a whole class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles." In his speech, the head of the administration affirmed that this result was achieved thanks to the firmness of the United States and its NATO allies.

"Now," he said, "we are proceeding on the basis of the lessons learned while drawing up the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles during the negotiations to draw up a treaty on reducing strategic weapons." Here he stressed that what is needed is "a good treaty, and not just setting some arbitrary date or other which would define the agenda."

"We," Reagan went on, "are conducting the negotiations from a position of strength; we are being guided by realism in respect to what can be attained in our relations with the Soviet Union and what the Soviets themselves are striving to achieve." Reagan called on America's West European allies to strengthen their Atlantic solidarity and unity vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Such calls, as has been noted here, are prompted by the growing discontent in Western Europe with the pressure put on them by the United States, which demands a sharp increase in the military outlays of these countries and their unqualified consent to the "modernizing" of U.S. nuclear arms that are deployed in those states and not covered by the INF Treaty.

The President dwelled at length on the goals the U.S. Administration has set itself for the Soviet-U.S. summit, saying that in addition to arms control [kontrol] problems, the administration also intends to discuss regional conflicts. Reagan paid tribute to the Soviet Union's decision to start withdrawing its troops from Afghanistan, and said that in Moscow he intends to discuss the conflict in South Africa, the Iran-Iraq war, the conflicts in Kampuchea and Central America, as well as the Arab-Israeli dispute.

Reagan did not specify what would be the determining approaches taken by the U.S. side during the discussion of these problems. Nevertheless, such approaches are generally known. An example of this is the administration's approach to the conflict in Central America, where the United States is waging an undeclared war on Nicaragua from U.S. military bases in neighboring countries. Administration officials urge the Soviet Union to end assistance to Nicaragua and stress the need to repel aggression while at the same time refusing outright to discuss the question of ending U.S. arms shipments to that area. We are not interested in discussing the question of ending U.S. arms shipments to Central America, a White House spokesman said as recently as this week.

In his address, Reagan called once again for "pressure to be exerted" on the Soviet Union in the area of human rights, demanding "a substantial improvement in the practice of the Soviet Union and East European countries in Human rights." Although Reagan voiced his readiness "to listen when the Soviet Union criticizes us," and said that "we are ready to discuss any criticisms made of us as openly and constructively as possible," it was with total silence that he passed over the essence of the problem: the perceptible deterioration over the past

few years of the situation regarding human rights in the United States, reflected in the weakening of earlier legislative restrictions on racial discrimination and sharp reductions in allocations for welfare needs, as a result of which the number of poor, homeless, and hungry has risen. Given such a situation, the House of Representatives Subcommittee on Civil And Constitutional Rights decided to open hearings on Wednesday, 25 May, on a report by the Towns Commission, a public organization which has described crude violations of civil rights in the United States. "The American revolution in civil rights," declared subcommittee Chairman Don Edwards, "has literally come under siege during the entire 8 years that the Reagan administration has been in power, and a great deal of harm has been done to many Americans."

Falin Notes 'Mixed Feelings'

DW251021 Cologne KOELNISCHE RUNDSCHAU
in German 25 May 88 p 2

[Interview with Valentin Falin, head of the NOVOSTI news agency, by correspondent Juergen C. Jagla; date and place not given]

[Text] KOELNISCHE RUNDSCHAU: Mr Falin, what do you think are the chances that the Moscow summit, which begins on Sunday, will be successful? Is it not true that it was originally thought there were better preconditions for the talks?

Falin: Considering the hopes that once existed in Washington, we must say that not all expectations were fulfilled. Obviously, many aspects were overrated and greater opportunities than really existed were anticipated. Even a lack of goodwill arose. The question is on which side.

KOELNISCHE RUNDSCHAU: The expectations about a treaty to reduce the number of strategic weapons turned out to be in vain. Which side was to blame?

Falin: Right. Those expectations were not fulfilled, although we thought that all the objective preconditions for quick and productive work on it existed. If you want to hear my personal opinion, here it is: In Geneva it was not just President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev sitting at the table, but also a third and very essential partner—the upcoming American elections. I think many things were slowed down by that.

KOELNISCHE RUNDSCHAU: But a reduction in strategic weapons would have been positive news for the election campaign.

Falin: Yes, but just for one side. I would not say that so definitely for the other side....

KOELNISCHE RUNDSCHAU: What about Moscow's view of ratification of the INF Treaty by the American Senate?

Falin: We received the news in Moscow today that President Reagan will not be bringing the ratification documents with him next Sunday. Those documents will obviously come later.

KOELNISCHE RUNDSCHAU: Did you in Moscow think he would bring the documents with him?

Falin: We thought he would, because we took the words of the American politicians seriously. However, I do not want to hide the fact that there was actually a consistent element of doubt on our side. Quite rightly so, as it turns out now.

KOELNISCHE RUNDSCHAU: Your words, Mr Falin, suggest that Moscow has rather mixed feelings about the summit. Is that true?

Falin: I would put it as follows: Mixed feelings should not affect the value and importance of that summit. There are enough tasks, opportunities, and subjects for the talks, which are of great importance to bilateral and international relations. I don't think there will be enough time to discuss all the important issues and what might very well lead to successful results. I can only hope that the discussions will be very productive.

KOELNISCHE RUNDSCHAU: To put it briefly—what are realistic expectations for Moscow?

Falin: I hope and proceed from the assumption that the INF Treaty at last may be put into practice....

KOELNISCHE RUNDSCHAU: But the treaty already exists.

Falin: Certainly, but in the past we have had too many treaties with the Americans that, unfortunately, existed only on paper. Success cannot be judged by concepts, but by definite implementation. In this case, it means that now is the time for practical disarmament to begin at last.

KOELNISCHE RUNDSCHAU: So there will be no accords in Moscow on the reduction of strategic weapons; in other words, nuclear weapons that are not intermediate-range missiles. Will it at least be possible for the two sides to reconcile their position on that issue, just as they reconciled their stance on intermediate-range weapons in Reykjavik?

Falin: I am quite sure that strategic weapons will be the most important topic at this summit. And I hope that an arrangement will be achieved which would define what was achieved at the Geneva talks. Otherwise, we will have to start from scratch again at a later date.

KOELNISCHE RUNDSCHAU: There is speculation here that at the Moscow summit the Soviets might offer to withdraw 100,000 troops from East Europe so as to force the Americans to make a move on their part. Is that just a rumor?

Falin: Well, I have to criticize you for being so stingy with such figures. In 1986 we suggested the withdrawal of a million troops by 1990, and last year we suggested that both sides reduce their troop strength so that neither side will be able to launch an offensive war. So what do you want with your 100,000 troops—our proposals are much more far-reaching.

KOELNISCHE RUNDSCHAU: Will new, similar proposals be made?

Falin: I do not rule out the possibility that our side will specify its ideas about conventional disarmament. However, I do not know what details will be discussed.

KOELNISCHE RUNDSCHAU: What significance could this summit have for West Europe, in particular the Federal Republic?

Falin: Well, Europe without intermediate-range weapons will sleep easier. I think that is important enough. I hope this meeting will give a new impetus to further disarmament efforts. That is of particular importance to the Federal Republic, as numerous military units and an extremely large quantity of weapons and ammunition are deployed on its territory. As to the rest, just like all the other European countries, the Federal Republic is not an isolated observer of events and has to realize that the problems which must be solved cannot be dealt with by the two superpowers alone. Every country is called upon to cooperate. The farther we get in the area of disarmament the more important each European nation becomes in that respect.

KOELNISCHE RUNDSCHAU: So the summit results will also be very important for the federal chancellor's forthcoming visit to Moscow?

Falin: Absolutely! I would like to confirm this here expressly and definitely. In fact, Bonn has done something for disarmament. That has been stated with appreciation here in Moscow more than once. Our foreign minister has also expressly mentioned it. However, as far as other disarmament and arms control problems are concerned, the Federal Republic's role could indeed be marked by more clarity. It could be more consistent in the sense of more disarmament, which should, of course, always be based on reciprocity. In this process neither side should gain at the other's expense.

KOELNISCHE RUNDSCHAU: Do you agree with the statement that relations between the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union are marked by a positive upward trend?

Falin: I would say that the positive dynamism in our relations that you just mentioned does exist. And it does not simply exist in the economic area and in other not really political areas. That positive process has also begun in sectors where policy is the focus of interest, and I hope we will be able to continue it for a long time to come.

Korionov on 'Normalizing' Process
PM2505081588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 May 88 First Edition p 5

[Vitaliy Korionov "Viewpoint" article: "Let Us Talk About the Climate"]

[Text] The political climate, of course. That normal, human climate of international relations which the planet needs so much now. Particularly today—during the run-up to the Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow. No American president has been to the USSR in 14 years. For a number of years during its term of office, the current administration dismissed out of hand, as it were, the mere idea of a summit meeting with the Soviet leadership. Yet, in the past 3 years there have been 3 Soviet-U.S. summits and 26 meetings between the foreign ministers of our two states. Impressive figures, aren't they?

They show that the process of normalizing Soviet-U.S. relations and, thus, international relations, has begun. The peoples are tired of the arms race and of the cold war and its consequences. And now, when conditions offering mankind an opportunity not only to prevent recurrences of the cold war but also to break the nuclear shackles and enter the 21st century without them are materializing, the peoples ardently welcome this course of events.

When in January 1986 the Soviet leadership presented to mankind a program for building a world free from violence and nuclear weapons, skeptics shrugged their shoulders and said: Utopia.... However, the "utopia" is becoming reality. The first real step has been taken: The treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles has been signed. True, the U.S. Senate has still not ratified it. But I have faith in the Americans' reason and believe that the Areopagus on Capitol Hill will still come to a sensible decision. After all, it is not only the vital interests of the United States itself and other countries which demand this. It is, for example, also based on the reasonable expectation that the U.S. President is not coming to Moscow "empty-handed"....

It seems that a new political climate is being established in the world, one in which confidence is beginning to prevail over hostility and hatred. The upcoming elimination under strict international verification of two classes of nuclear weapons at the same time is not only an act marking the destruction of some of the means of mass destruction but also a real step toward shaping a new kind of mutual relations between states.

Recently an official White House spokesman stated: "One distinguishing feature of this summit will be the commitment by the two countries' leaders and by both sides to continue to progress along the productive path which they have chosen in recent years." Well, the ball is not in the Soviet court.

It goes without saying that today, too, ensuring the security of one's own state remains the paramount duty of governments. But the point is that in the age of nuclear missiles, security can no longer be ensured by building a palisade of missiles with nuclear warheads. The main guarantee of national security today is provided by political means, the establishment of relations of trust, and the achievement of accords and agreements between states.

... "A conflagration of the mind," was how F.M. Dostoyevskiy once characterized those ideas which lead to profound changes in people's consciousness. But life shows that by no means everyone likes such changes. Take, for example, the alarm which restructuring in the Soviet Union aroused in the minds of arch-conservatives in the Atlantic camp. Reactionaries fear our restructuring like the plague. In his recent book "1999: Victory Without War," former President Nixon urges: "Under no circumstances must the United States allow its foreign policy to be influenced by changes in the USSR's domestic policy. It would be extremely stupid to make concessions at the arms control talks to help Gorbachev achieve successes at home." It is necessary to act in a different vein, Nixon urges: The United States should exert "political pressure" on the USSR "to make it accept our conditions."

And that is what happened. For many years, for decades. But now it is becoming increasingly evident that this is not the way to regulate our bilateral relations. A different approach is needed now, one which corresponds to the realities of the nuclear missile age.

"Rest in peace, Kremlinology! When we've got glasnost, who needs guesswork?" was the forthright headline with which Patrick Cockburn, a British journalist and member of the leadership of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, prefaced a recent article in THE WASHINGTON POST. Indeed, why base policy on "guesswork" when there is a far more reliable foundation available—realism and sober consideration of the mutual interests of all states and peoples?

Then the political climate will also become clearer than it is now.

Meeting Termed 'Significant'

LD2405182788 Moscow World Service in English
1410 GMT 24 May 88

[Viktor Glazunov commentary]

[Text] Preparations are under way for the Soviet-American summit. The summit will begin in Moscow next Sunday. Radio Moscow's Viktor Glazunov comments on its significance:

[Begin Glazunov recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] To me the very fact of the summit is significant. The Soviet-American dialogue is continuing; it is essential to maintain the dialogue, bearing in mind both nations' unique responsibility for the destiny of the world. It is the United States and the Soviet Union together that bear the main responsibility for ridding humanity of the nuclear threat. Both account for the lion's share of the nuclear arms.

The two nations took the first step in this direction when they signed a treaty to abolish two classes of nuclear missiles. I believe the United States Senate cannot but ratify the treaty, despite the attempts of a small group of senators to torpedo it. Of course, it would be important for the Moscow summit to exchange instruments of ratification. This would build up trust during the summit, and trust is what both sides need badly.

Take the question of cutting by half strategic arms. What was it that shattered the hopes for the treaty to be ready by the Moscow summit? Lack of trust. We cannot trust the American side if it claims that it is ready to sign a treaty that will halve strategic arms and at the same time project the arms race to space. If this way is followed everything that has already been achieved, and what remains to be achieved—the bringing about of disarmament from this earth—can be devalued.

It would of course be naive to suppose that Soviet-American dialogue will develop without any conflicts of opinion, and that there would be no ebb to it now and then. Far too much mistrust has accumulated in relations between the two countries over all these years. The two countries are very different from each other, but it is the imperative demand of the times that they find a mode of normal coexistence with each other and the rest of the world.

The grim realities of the age of nuclear missiles leave them without any other choice. It is an imperative of the times that relations between us must not be allowed to reach the fateful point beyond which this civilisation will cease to exist. This understanding is one of the most important achievements of the dialogue between the two countries so far. There are grounds for hoping that the forthcoming Soviet-American summit will attain a new level of dialogue and mutual understanding, and above all with respect to the search of ways towards fresh agreements on nuclear arms reduction. Speaking to American publishers, Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized that the Soviet Union will cooperate with any United States administration in order to attain that goal. [end recording]

Press Center Opens

PM2505131188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 May 88 Second Edition p 5

[A. Lyuty report: "Press Center: Work Has Begun"]

[Text] Moscow these days has become a place of pilgrimage for journalists from the whole world. Some 4,000 people have come to cover the Soviet-U.S. summit. The

meeting's Press Center has officially opened its doors. Considering the magnitude of the event itself and the number of journalists, it will be located in three places at once—at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center on Zubovskiy Boulevard, at the International Trade Center conference hall on Krasnaya Presnya, and in Ostankino. Incidentally, representatives of the "electronic" mass media also have their improvised branch—at the "Rossiya" Hotel, where equipment has been installed for the direct transmission of reports via space communications.

Yu.A. Gremitikhin, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, says:

"Over 1,000 Americans alone, including the relevant White House and State Department press groups, have arrived. There have been many applications from Japan, Britain, France, and the FRG. And there are countries from which we have never had journalists before at all. Moscow is trying to display hospitality and to consider every request. For instance, for convenience, shuttle service has been organized between the hotels and the Press Center and taxi stands have been specially created. As for satisfying professional interests, we are carrying out a whole program of information measures with our experts' participation. We have just held a news conference on the Soviet approach to human rights. But here is an interesting detail: There were almost no Western journalists there. In any event, we did not notice any Americans, who so often clamor about some violations or other."

CBS, one of the largest U.S. television companies, whose evening news program is usually watched by the largest number of Americans, has brought in an "assault force" of 100 people to Moscow, headed by Dan Rather, the program's announcer.

News Conference Held at Summit Press Center

Human Rights Discussed

LD2405225188 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2001 GMT 24 May 88

[Text] A conference took place today in the press center of the Soviet-U.S. summit devoted to the issues of human rights and humanitarian cooperation. The following individuals took part: Grachev, head of a section in the Propaganda Department of the CPSU Central Committee; Ignatenko, editor in chief of the journal NOVOYE VREMYA; Professor Kuznetsov, deputy director of the Research Institute of Soviet Legislation; Glukhov, first deputy head of the Department on Humanitarian and Cultural Ties at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and scientists and experts on law issues.

The news conference was chaired by Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

It was noted at the news conference that a normal discussion on human rights issues has been carried out of late at international conferences and at the meetings between Soviet and U.S. specialists. While in the past the Americans generally emphasized the issues of emigration from the USSR and of individual trips abroad by Soviet citizens, human rights in the United States itself and also in third countries are widely discussed now. This is under way in the United Nations Human Rights Commission and in other organizations.

There was success at the recent meeting in Paris in reaching an accord on such issues as reciprocal exchange of legal experts. An exchange of information has been established connected with human rights in the United States and in the Soviet Union. Extensive steps are being taken in the matter of ratification of international agreements on ensuring human rights.

The participants in the news conference answered questions from Soviet and foreign journalists. What success has been achieved in the sphere of human rights protection in the 3 years of restructuring? Answering this question, Professor Kuznetsov noted that sound bases of our legislation have developed over the years since the founding of the Soviet state. As a whole, they guarantee a high standard of social protection for the people. Therefore, the first task now lies in utilizing to a full degree the potential which exists in our legislation. For the time being, its utilization is far from complete. In practice, many clauses of the law are being implemented with inadequate consistency. However, there also exists a second and very important task: to eliminate from the existing legislation all that impedes restructuring and that slows down its progress.

It has been said in the West that the right to strike is one we lack. What is our view on this?

In our legislation there is no recognition of the right to strike, but nor is there any ban on this. This problem has been discussed among scholars. Various positions were expressed. It is well known that in the legislation of a number of socialist countries such a right is recognized and secured. In our country, too, there are supporters, although not many, for the regulating of this question. At present the right course has been taken for the development of Soviet legislation. The possibilities of labor collectives are being raised in every possible way, which has an influence on all spheres of work of the enterprise and its workers.

Another question that was asked was: Can you give us any figures for brief and permanent departures from the Soviet Union, and for arrivals to our country?

The processes of restructuring, said Rudolf Kuznetsov, are under way in our country. Naturally, they have also touched on questions connected with expanding contacts between Soviet citizens and people in other countries. Suffice it to say that in 1987 reciprocal temporary trips

increased two-fold. More than 250,000 Soviet citizens made short-term trips on private matters alone. At the present time this process is being developed further. In the last 4 months almost all those who made such a request—more than 15,000 people—received permission to leave the Soviet Union. The number of refusals has decreased sharply. The number of people who for objective reasons have had applications to leave rejected comes to less than 2 percent.

A question was asked about the number of so-called political prisoners in the USSR. Comrade Grachev reminded journalists that we must agree on terms before any such discussion begins. The term political prisoner itself still requires discussion and more precise definition, but as I understand it the question refers to those Soviet citizens who have been convicted under well-known articles of the existing RSFSR Criminal Code. To the best of my knowledge, he noted, the number of persons convicted under those two articles has decreased considerably in recent times. Many prisoners have been pardoned by the USSR Supreme Soviet. At present, the number of such prisoners comes to 13. For the moment, I cannot say anything definite about the times of their release. The nature of the crime committed by each of these people will be judged individually in every case. Accordingly, our judicial bodies should also have their say.

U.S. More 'Responsive'

LD2505032088 Moscow in English to North America
2200 GMT 24 May 88

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Announcer] A spokesman of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Aleksey Glukhov, has said the current dialogue is marked by concrete progress, including progress on the issue of the extradition of Nazi war criminals.

[Begin Glukhov recording in Russian, fading into superimposed English translation] Recently, the Americans have replied to three more Soviet requests. Cooperation in fighting terrorism tends to normalize. Some time ago we noted with concern that participants in antiwar demonstrations are punished in the United States too harshly. As the reply indicates, the terms of imprisonment for these people has been shortened. The Americans are getting more and more responsive to our concern about the position of former Soviet nationals in United States territory who appealed to the Soviet Union for help since they feel that their rights in the United States are violated. [end recording]

[Announcer] That was Aleksey Glukhov, a spokesman of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. The lack of an agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States covering mutual legal assistance is an obstacle to progress in this field. Yet, as the participants in the news conference said, before such an agreement is concluded the two countries will have to get rid of mutual prejudice and

recognize each others' positions with regard to human rights. Discussions on this issue, United States Secretary of State George Shultz says, should be a two-way street.

Officials Comment

LD2405155888 Moscow TASS in English 1509 GMT
24 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—"Debates on the problem of human rights between the USSR and the USA no longer have the nature of a 'dialogue of the deaf'. Perhaps their main result is that the Soviet and American sides come to understand each other's position better," said Andrey Grachev, chief of a sector of the Propaganda Department of the CPSU Central Committee. Andrey Grachev and other Soviet experts spoke today at a press conference devoted to the problems of human rights and humanitarian cooperation.

Editor-in-chief of the weekly NEW TIMES Vitaliy Ignatenko spoke about a Soviet-U.S. meeting on human rights that had ended in Paris recently. He noted that the discussions held in the framework of the preparation for the summit had proceeded in a constructive and businesslike atmosphere.

Despite certain differences, it was possible to achieve serious advance, above all as regards the understanding by the American colleagues of the need to address themselves to human rights problems in their own country.

In this connection, Aleksey Glukhov, first deputy chief of the Directorate for Humanitarian and Cultural Relations of the USSR Foreign Ministry, emphasized that the U.S. side does not show enough consideration for vast interest of Soviet people as regards the state of affairs with human rights in the USA. The Soviet people are, for instance, indignant over the fact that the U.S. authorities have not decided to this day the question of the extradition of the terrorists Brazinskas. "Though the U.S. side each time avoids resolving this question, we shall continue insisting that the killers and hijackers be punished."

Substantial changes have been made in the procedure of exit from and entry into the USSR: The processes of perestroika could not but have a bearing on the area of international contacts of Soviet people, said Rudolf Kuznetsov, chief of the Soviet visa office and registration for foreigners of the USSR Ministry of the Interior. The number of trips of Soviet citizens on private business abroad in 1987 was double that for the previous year. For instance, more than 250,000 Soviet citizens had an opportunity to visit their relatives or friends abroad, Rudolf Kuznetsov said. The procedure of leaving the USSR for permanent residence abroad has been considerably simplified. 15,000 people were given the

permission to leave over the past four months. The number of refusals decreased sharply. Only about 2 percent of the total number of applications to leave are rejected.

Answering questions, Andrey Grachev said that at present the number of persons in the USSR convicted under Articles 70 and 190 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation ("anti-soviet agitation and propaganda..." and "spreading deliberately false allegations denigrating the Soviet state and public system...") is 13. He noted that the number of persons convicted under these articles considerably reduced of late as many of them have been pardoned.

'Expert' Views Legal Reform

LD2405120088 Moscow TASS in English 1106 GMT
24 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—The Soviet legislation being radically revised includes not only administrative and economic laws, but the criminal and civil law codes as well, a Soviet legal expert said today.

Professor Igor Kuznetsov, a deputy director of the All-Union Research Institute of Soviet [words indistinct] by the need to put the legal seal on the first results of the restructuring and democratization policy and determine further progress in these fields.

Kuznetsov was speaking at a news conference here on the Soviet approach to the issues of human rights and humanitarian cooperation.

"Updating legislation, Soviet scientists and lawyers seek to realize the fundamental provisions of existing laws as fully and consistently as possible, while ridding them of everything that impedes and slows down the perestroika effort," he said, using the Russian word for the current reform drive under way in the Soviet Union.

"With this aim, a whole series of legal instruments have been adopted or are in the making in the USSR to provide legal support for the democratization process.

"Legal acts concerning administration will undergo major alternations and work is being done to upgrade protection for citizens' rights and interests," Kuznetsov continued.

He pointed to greater emphasis than before on efforts to work out specific mechanisms and procedures to ensure that the interests of different groups of the population will be taken effectively into account.

Legal guarantees for the exercise of freedoms and liberties will be enhanced, Kuznetsov added.

Among the first legal instruments reflecting these requirements and adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet at the time of perestroika, he mentioned the law on

nationwide debates on important state matters, the law on procedure for appeal against illegitimate actions by officials infringing upon citizens' rights, and the law on state enterprises.

Kuznetsov said many more such acts are to follow, including a law on the press and information, a law on young people, a law on public openness, and a law on the freedom of conscience and religious associations.

But "the pace of perestroika (in the legal field) could be more rapid," the legal expert said.

He expressed dissatisfaction also with the quality of the law on procedure for appeal against abuses of office going against citizens' rights.

"I think that life will compel us to return to that act and extend the framework in which it can be applied, by providing for a possibility to appeal against illegal actions not only by individual officials, but also by whole official agencies," Kuznetsov said.

'Psychiatric Aid' Discussed

LD2405125188 Moscow TASS in English 1209 GMT
24 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—"We begin to discuss calmly with our American colleagues problems of giving psychiatric aid although initially these discussions were conducted in a confrontational spirit," said Alexey Glukhov, first deputy head of the Department on Humanitarian and Cultural Ties of the USSR Foreign Ministry. He took part in a press conference devoted to the human rights problems and humanitarian cooperation.

Dr Lionel Roth has recently visited the USSR. He toured Soviet clinics, talked with colleagues and upon the completion of his visit recommended that U.S. psychiatrists resume normal contacts with Soviet specialists. Glukhov noted that a group of American specialists would visit the USSR next September. They will be afforded an opportunity to familiarize themselves with the psychiatric aid system in the Soviet Union.

Another participant in the press conference Marat Vartanyan, director of the All-Union Scientific Center of Mental Health at the Soviet Academy of Medical Sciences, touched on preventive measures against slow-developing schizophrenia.

In the West they sometimes impute possible abuses in psychiatry exactly to this form of schizophrenia. Moreover, all kind of rumours appear to the effect that this form of the disease was ostensibly termed by Soviet psychiatrists in the 60's to use the diagnosis for political purposes.

"I would like to dispel this deep illusion," Vartanyan said. "The slow-developing schizophrenia was described for the first time not by Soviet psychiatrists but by our American colleagues Koch and Palladin back in 1941 when no problems related to mental health abuses emerged altogether".

INF Treaty Ratification Process Reviewed

Reagan Urges Approval

PM2405123588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 May 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Radio Address"]

[Text] Washington, 22 May—In his Saturday radio address U.S. President R. Reagan stressed: "I am pleased that this week the full Senate has started to debate the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. The treaty has been subjected to careful and useful scrutiny at the committee stage. Now the Senate can join me in demonstrating to our allies and to our opponents that it also wants to participate in strengthening peace and creating better living conditions."

"I hope," the President said, "that the Senate will give its consent to the ratification of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in time for it to enter into force during my meeting with the general secretary in Moscow."

Shultz Interview Cited

LD2505054888 Moscow TASS in English 0539 GMT
25 May 88

[Text] Washington May 25 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz has expressed confidence that the Senate would agree to ratify the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

"There's no reason not to do it," he said in an interview with the CNN television network on Tuesday. The treaty "has been examined very carefully, and I think the Senate's done an excellent job of looking into it. What they find is it holds up extremely well."

"So, that having been found, let's give consent to its ratification," he added.

The secretary of state pointed out that "a lot of progress" had been achieved in working out a new Soviet-American treaty that would reduce by half the two powers' strategic arsenals.

Limit on Debate Proposed

LD2505121088 Moscow TASS in English 1131 GMT
25 May 88

[Text] Washington May 25 TASS—By TASS correspondent Oleg Polyakovskiy:

In an attempt at putting an end to obstructionism by the conservatives, who have for a week now prevented the U.S. Senate from approving the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, leader of the Democratic Majority in Senate Robert Byrd tabled on Tuesday proposals on limiting the further debate to 30 hours.

Although according to the rules of procedure, this proposal cannot be put to vote until Thursday, its adoption will, in the opinion of the leaders of both the Democratic and Republican party, enable the Senate approve of the treaty before the opening of the summit meeting in Moscow.

"There is no reason not to do it," U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz said in an interview with the CNN company. "It's being examined very carefully, and I think the Senate has done an excellent job of looking into it. What they find is it holds up extremely well. So, that having been found, let's give consent to its ratification."

This is hampered by a handful of conservative Republicans with Senator Jesse Helms at their head. They are well aware of the fact that they cannot prevent the adoption of the ratification resolution by which the upper chamber of the U.S. Congress gives, in keeping with the U.S. Constitution, the advice and consent to the President for the ratification of the international agreement. The resolution is sure to be adopted, as soon as things come to voting on it, Republican minority leader in Senate Robert Dole pointed out Yesterday. The only question is how many votes it is going to win—94, 95 or 92.

On Tuesday Robert Byrd and Robert Dole met in the White House with President Reagan, who, according to Marlin Fitzwater, official spokesman for the White House, is very much concerned about the obstructionism of the conservatives. After the meeting the proposal was tabled on limiting the debate. To adopt it 60 votes are necessary. The Democrat and Republican leaders are convinced that the necessary votes will be ensured.

Today President Reagan is leaving by air for Helsinki, where he will make a stopover en route to Moscow. But as Marlin Fitzwater said, the White House chief of staff Howard Baker will stay in Washington before the end of the week to follow the course of the debate in Senate. He is doing that expecting that the final voting in Senate will be held till late this week and he will be able to bring the endorsed treaty to Moscow before the arrival of the President there, the White House spokesman said.

Reagan 'Threat' on Contra Aid Reported

LD250505388 Moscow TASS in English 0542 GMT
25 May 88

[Text] Washington May 25 TASS—The day before the resumption of the talks on ultimate ceasefire in Nicaragua, the Washington administration has declared its plans to seek a resumption of military aid to the Nicaraguan contras "if the current stalemate in the peace process persists."

This threat is contained in the written statement by the President issued by the White House on Tuesday evening.

The written statement is an attempt not only at presenting in a totally distorted light the national dialogue currently under way in Nicaragua, but also to bring additional pressure to bear on the Sandinistas, to ensure in advance a propaganda substantiation for a resumption of military aid to the forces of Nicaraguan armed opposition, which was suspended since late February in keeping with the U.S. Congress decision. The statement reiterates, in particular, groundless accusations against the Sandinist government of allegedly preventing the implementation of the Sapoa agreement providing for a temporary ceasefire in Nicaragua.

The statement by the White House mentions angrily the U.S. Congress decision to limit "United States assistance to the Nicaraguan democratic resistance, to food, shelter, clothing, and medicines." The President underscores that the Nicaraguan opposition "deserves the continued support of the United States." The statement bluntly says that the administration will demand that the Congress reconsider its decision on a cut in assistance to the Nicaraguan contras, by using as a pretext the claims about "stalemate" at the talks.

The agreement reached in Sapoa caused strong alarm among Washington's right-wing circles which fear the ultimate defeat of the contras. These fears have increased in face of an open split among the ranks of the armed Nicaraguan opposition, which clearly manifested itself after the signing of that agreement.

Defense Secretary Carlucci Begins Foreign Tour
LD2505092188 Moscow TASS in English
0857 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Washington May 25 TASS—U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci is starting today on a long foreign tour.

He will make his first stopover in Brussels to attend a meeting of the NATO Military Planning Committee. According to a UPI report, Carlucci hopes to get from his partners consent to the appropriation of funds by the North Atlantic bloc for the maintenance in Western Europe of 72 fighter bombers F-16.

As is known, in January this year Spain demanded that the USA withdraw its aircraft from the territory of the Torrejon Air Base near Madrid. After that the Reagan administration made feverish attempts at ensuring a further stay of F-16 in Western Europe since, as U.S. representatives admitted, none of the European nations expressed interest in granting its bases for these aircraft. Under the pressure of the U.S. administration Italy has in the long run given consent to the deployment in her territory of seventy-two F-16, but on condition that NATO, and not the USA, make an official request for the

lease of the base and pay for it. In putting forward such conditions, UPI notes, the Italian Government wishes to reassure at least in a way the opponents of the U.S. presence in Italy's territory.

After the meeting in Brussels Carlucci will go to Moscow to participate among the U.S. delegation in the summit meeting, and then to Japan and South Korea.

Public Polled on Prospects for Peace, Ties
PM2405115988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 May 88 Second Edition p 5

[Article by V.S. Korobeynikov, doctor of philosophical sciences, member of the World Association for Public Opinion Research: "Barometer of Hope. Soviet Public Opinion and USSR-U.S. Relations"; first two paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] It is universally recognized that the contemporary international situation is largely dependent on the state of USSR-U.S. relations. And it is perfectly natural that these are constantly the focus of world public opinion, naturally arousing the greatest interest among the Soviet and American peoples.

On 12 May this year PRAVDA published the results of polls on this subject conducted in the United States by a number of research organizations. But in what form is analogous research carried out in the Soviet Union? What are its results? Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V.S. Korobeynikov, member of the World Association for Public Opinion Research, answers these questions.

"International Barometer of Peace"—this is the title of a scientific project which is being carried out on the initiative of Soviet sociologists and within whose framework the attitude of Soviet people to questions of preserving peace, eliminating the nuclear threat, and developing good-neighborly relations among countries—primarily between the USSR and the United States—is being studied. The project's working organ is the section for studying sociological problems of the new political thinking which was recently created at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research.

Polls conducted in the USSR over the past 3 years show that our country's population considers regular summit meetings the chief catalyst in the process of improving Soviet-U.S. relations. Thus, the results of a poll conducted in Moscow last December, after the dialogue between the two countries' leaders on the banks of the Potomac, show that Soviet people consider the prospect of improved Soviet-U.S. relations one of the most important consequences of the meeting. Some 28 percent of those polled voiced the opinion that Soviet-U.S. relations would "improve significantly" after the Washington meeting, and 61 percent that they would "improve somewhat."

The Soviet people's unequivocally expressed desire that the positive changes in Soviet-U.S. relations should be more stable and not be influenced by various circumstantial political trends is noteworthy. This is attested, in particular, by the results of an investigation which we have just completed in cooperation with the Public Opinion Study Center under the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and which embraced 12 regions of the RSFSR and several rayons of the Georgian SSR. In all, a total of approximately 1,200 people were polled. To the question "How would you describe the changes that have occurred in Soviet-U.S. relations since the meetings between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan in Geneva, Reykjavik, and Washington?" two-thirds of those polled replied: "Significant but unstable."

Soviet people, as our data show, are looking forward to the consolidation of the positive changes in relations between the countries and, in particular, the ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, the prevention of the siting of nuclear weapons in space, and the reduction of both countries' strategic offensive arms. It is precisely because there is still not sufficiently weighty proof of an irreversible improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations that the participants in the poll conducted in the RSFSR and Georgia on the threshold of the new meeting between the two countries' leaders in Moscow evaluated the state of Soviet-U.S. relations as only satisfactory. This is the opinion of 67 percent of those polled. Little more than 8 percent consider these relations good, and 6 percent bad.

Soviet people see specific ways to improve Soviet-U.S. relations in very diverse spheres, but above all in questions of eliminating the nuclear threat and of disarmament. This is revealed by the answers to questions about the most important problems in Soviet-U.S. relations during the period from 1985 through 1988. Three problems are of paramount priority: the complete cessation of nuclear tests, the prevention of the siting of weapons in space, and the limitation of strategic offensive arms. Between 75 and 88 percent of those polled, that is, an absolute majority, annually name these problems as the most important in Soviet-U.S. relations.

The poll participants consider the next most important problem that of eliminating tension and conflicts in the planet's "hot spots." Approximately half the poll participants usually point to this. And, finally, the third set of problems concerns the development of direct ties between our countries in various spheres: the broadening of trade, economic, cultural, and scientific cooperation and contacts among people.

Thus, an absolute majority of Soviet people see as the purpose of improved Soviet-U.S. relations not only the development of contacts in specific areas of bilateral ties but also mankind's salvation from the horrors of nuclear war and from the burden of the arms race and the achievement of lasting peace all over the world.

U.S. Now 'Trying To Understand' USSR
PM2405122188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 May 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Koryavin dispatch: "Time of Dialogue"]

[Text] Washington—The hall of the prestigious Rotary Club in Memphis... The audience is made up of representatives of business circles, university professors, attorneys, physicians.... The Kiwanis Club in Warren, Ohio. The composition of the audience is the same as in Memphis. The time lapse between the two meetings is 3 years. The topic of debate is the same—Soviet-U.S. relations.

During the meeting in Warren, held at the initiative of Kent State University, I frequently consulted the notes I made in Memphis 3 years ago. There was a tremendous contrast, applying both to the actual atmosphere of the debate and to the essence of the questions raised by the U.S. audience. Whereas alienation and mistrust were sensed in Memphis, the desire to get to know each other better dominated in Warren.

Previously a stereotyped set of questions—repeated, as a rule, from the words of U.S. official propaganda and the "big press"—would invariably arise in debates on Soviet-U.S. relations. Everything revolved around one set of arguments—the Soviet military threat, the emigration of Jews from the USSR, political prisoners, with the latter invariably numbered in millions....

This time, in Warren, the picture was different. The range of the problems under discussion was wider, and the debate itself was more profound. You could feel that over these years the U.S. audience has, as it were, raised the level of its knowledge about the USSR and is now trying to understand the processes that have recently been taking place in our country.

The U.S. audience really has begun to receive more extensive information about the Soviet Union. The system of disinformation created by U.S. propaganda centers has begun to crack under the impact of objective processes. They are still strong—these bastions erected during the "cold war" times—but they are no longer capable of immuring Americans' thinking within their walls. The USSR's foreign policy actions, restructuring in internal life, glasnost—this is the driving force which has begun giving the United States access to the truth about the Soviet Union and, consequently, changing the broad U.S. audience's ideas about the actual state of affairs in our country.

The audience here is multifaceted. Our media have frequently taken a simplistic approach to it, artificially dividing it, as it were, into two poles: right-wing forces which, consequently, are hostile and advocate war, and antiwar forces sympathetic to the peace-loving Soviet foreign policy. Such polarization undoubtedly exists in

the United States. But a shortcoming of the simplistic approach is that it disregarded the chief section of the U.S. audience, the so-called average American, who does not hold extreme views, does, of course, have suspicions toward the USSR, but wishes to learn more about us and remains sincere and benevolent in his desire to learn.

Returning to the recent Ohio meetings, it has to be said that I saw just such an audience there. The business people of the Kiwanis Club were interested in the new economic processes now taking place in the USSR. Each question raised by the businessmen was set, above all, in the plane of their interests and their potential for "dealings" with Soviet partners. An interest in trade and economic relations with the USSR is now being shown at very different levels in the United States, ranging from large concerns to small firms. It is no coincidence that questions about the new structure of the USSR's foreign economic ties were frequently heard in the debate in the Kiwanis Club.

From numerous meetings at the university it was easy to draw the conclusion that teachers and students today have a tremendous interest in the Soviet Union. Sentiments here were summed up by John Cable, dean of Kent State's History Department: "It is not just a desire to learn as much as possible about your country. A process of the psychological reinterpretation of our own views is taking place. For years they fitted only into a single channel of mistrust and suspicion. But we do not want to be hostages of confrontational concepts and blindly follow the dangerous and mistaken philosophy of the 'evil empire.' Many of us have visited the USSR and have our own views which are the direct opposite of the old stereotype. We are now getting a flood of information on the Soviet Union. It is inadequate in our media and in many respects contradictory, but truth can now be found in it. Truth is the criterion which must guide us in relations with each other."

The interest in our country is reflected in the mass media. Television, like the CNN channel, for example, which belongs to Atlanta television magnate Ted Turner, shows entire series about our country. Not a day goes by without central newspapers carrying an article or reportage sent by correspondents from Moscow. The Soviet Union today is a "big topic." And Moscow is an extremely interesting "post" for a U.S. correspondent to work at.

Old-timers of the journalist corps—WASHINGTON POST commentator Don Oberdorfer, for example—cannot recall another period since World War II when such attention has been devoted to the subject of the Soviet Union. The outlines of the real changes which have begun in the Soviet Union are starting to appear before the U.S. reader and television viewer.

The Americans have just gotten a new opportunity to familiarize themselves with the broad panorama of the events taking place in the Soviet Union from the answers

of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the questions of THE WASHINGTON POST and NEWSWEEK magazine. The interview was at once commented on extensively in news and analytical broadcasts on the leading U.S. television channels which have audiences of millions.

Glasnost and the objective and open information which has filled the Soviet press have played their positive role: They have begun to cut the ground from under the feet of those who played on our sluggishness and excessive caution and who sought "sensations" in our country.

Today our U.S. colleagues returning from Moscow complain that work has become harder. Glasnost is dismantling their "multistage propaganda missiles."

I recently visited the VOA studio located on Independence Avenue. When this government radio station, which now broadcasts in 44 languages and beams programs to the USSR for 16 out of every 24 hours, was being created, it formulated its aims. Here are the words the director spoke in the first broadcast: "Our aim is to show listeners in the USSR a picture of American life."

Have those good wishes been realized? Unfortunately not. The "voice" quickly swapped its propaganda role. It became not the Voice of America but a voice about the Soviet Union transmitted from America—a tendentious, inflammatory, and basically hostile voice. Of course, the vacuum left for Western "voices" by our own silent press and broadcasting organs also played into its hands here.

It is now a time of contacts, a time of dialogue in Soviet-U.S. relations. And the USIA, which includes VOA, is involved in them. A meeting of representatives of the Soviet and U.S. media was held recently in Washington. The discussion was useful and timely. Now that positive changes have become apparent in Soviet-U.S. relations, the role of information is becoming particularly important.

The USIA's leaders declare that they favor broader contacts and mutual understanding. Today it really is up to the U.S. side, because there is still no parity in the sphere of USSR-U.S. information exchange. Over the past 2 years, for example, there have been 14 television linkups. In the Soviet Union they were seen by up to 170 million people. But the U.S. audience was 12-14 million. Four times as many U.S. publications are available in the USSR as Soviet publications in the United States.

But there are more serious obstacles hampering useful dialogue and preventing mutual understanding. First, forces which are generally opposed to any contacts, and particularly to an improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations, have now become appreciably more active in the United States. But even those who undertake a dialogue frequently display strange tendencies and would like the Soviet side to adopt the U.S. rules of play. What is more, many people regard the process of changing relations

between the two countries in a positive direction as a result of the "firmness of the U.S. course." And this "philosophy" is noticeable not only in the media but also in the highest echelons of U.S. power.

All this is not in the spirit of the time of dialogue. And, if we want to be on good terms with each other, we cannot do without a dialogue.

Maytash on Need To Improve Bilateral Trade
*LD2405222688 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1538 GMT 24 May 88*

["Make Trade, Not War"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 24 May (TASS)—TASS political observer Vladimir Matyash writes:

Soviet-U.S. commercial and economic relations still remain an area of unused opportunities. The volume and structure of trade turnover is far from corresponding to the potential which exists. In 1987, trade turnover totalled R1.2 billion (compared with R1.5 billion in 1986). Purchases of U.S. machinery and equipment in 1987 made up only R80 million. In recent years the United States' share in USSR foreign trade was an average of 1.1 percent, including 0.4 percent of Soviet exports and 1.8 percent of Soviet imports. The USSR's share of the volume of the United States' foreign trade is extremely small—about 0.5 percent.

The basic cause of the unsatisfactory situation in commercial and economic relations between the USSR and the United States is their unjustified politicization by the U.S. side. In attempts to exert political pressure on the USSR, the United States has repeatedly resorted to various "sanctions" and limitations. A discriminatory customs and credit regime remains in force. The USSR's rapprochement with GATT is blocked.

At present the 1974 long-term agreement on facilitating economic, industrial, and technological cooperation is in operation. In 1984 it was extended for a normal 10-year period. A number of intergovernmental agreements in separate areas of bilateral economic cooperation also exist between the countries.

The U.S. business world is showing an interest in expanding mutually advantageous cooperation with Soviet partners. At present, more than 50 prospective cooperation projects in the most varied spheres and forms are being discussed, and 3 joint ventures have been set up.

The Soviet side considers that the USSR and the United States could become really useful to each other, developing broad and mutually-advantageous commercial and economic relations on the principles of equality, stability, and a striving to find in this area of bilateral relations points where interests come together. Economic contacts between the USSR and the United States

should have a firm, long-term, and stable basis. The key to this is to construct them on the basis of real economic and commercial interests. The Soviet side is creating the necessary conditions for such cooperation. Thus, in January 1987, the law on joint ventures on the territory of the USSR was adopted. In September of that year, the law was amended with a view to creating more favorable conditions for the formation of such ventures. In particular, a simplification of the procedure for taking decisions on the setting up of joint ventures on the territory of the USSR; the introduction of additional tax benefits for joint ventures; the development of new forms of economic interaction with foreign partners—including involvement in foreign joint-stock companies and investment activity abroad and also cooperation in the training and retraining of qualified cadres was envisioned.

The development of commercial and economic relations on a healthy and stable basis could make a large and positive contribution to the creation of an atmosphere of trust between both countries.

The noble motto: "Make Trade, Not War" is being entered in the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit dialogue in Moscow, with which hopes for an advance in all spheres of relations between the USSR and the United States are linked.

Canadian Communist Party Congress Ends
*LD2405100588 Moscow TASS in English 0910 GMT
24 May 88*

[Text] Toronto May 24 TASS—On the last day of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of Canada the delegates endorsed a resolution setting out the main domestic and foreign policy goals of the party.

All-round intensification of the peace struggle, the creation of a broad front of political and public forces fighting for strengthening Canada's sovereignty and independence, a decisive rebuff to reactionaries and neoconservatives who are encroaching on the vital rights and interests of the working people, the prevention of plans to militarize the country and involve it in the Pentagon military plans, active ideological work among the masses are the guidelines set out by the congress for the Canadian communists. The delegates of the communist congress elected a new 65-man Central Committee, which included experienced men who devoted all their lives to the struggle for the interests of the working people, and young party activists, eager to bring new ideas into its strategy and tactics, to introduce new forms and methods of party work among various strata of Canadian society.

In connection with the retirement from the post of head of the Canadian Communist Party of William Kashtan, a 79-year-old veteran of the communist movement, the delegates unanimously elected member of the party Central Committee George Hewison as general secretary

of the Communist Party of Canada. William Kashtan was elected chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada.

The new general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada told the congress that the party faced an honourable and noble task of bringing truth to the ordinary people of Canada living in various parts of the country, to arm them to the struggle for the interests of working people, for the preservation of the Canadian nation, stronger independence and social progress.

In an interview with Soviet journalists the new general secretary provided a few autobiographical details. He is 43 years old, married with four children. He was engaged in trade union work among fishermen on the west coast of Canada. A member of the communist party for 27 years, he served as a senior party official in British Columbia for a long time and was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada in the past few years.

Asked about the main outcome of the 27th Congress, George Hewison said that the main result was unity in the attitude to the party policy, which manifested itself at the congress. The delegates showed unanimity in the question of peace struggle, regarding it as the main goal in the work of communists. Neither were there differences on the need to counteract reactionary neoconservative forces which seek to sacrifice the country's independence to benefit American imperialism. The communist party is fully resolved to give a rebuff to the monopolies which have launched an offensive against the working class, farmers, the union movement and the vital rights and interests of people.

George Hewison wished great successes to the Soviet Communists, the entire Soviet people in implementing revolutionary transformations in the USSR.

China

Li Peng, Deng Xiaoping Meet U.S. Banking Group
LD2505050288 Moscow TASS in English 2139 GMT 24 May 88

[Text] Beijing May 24 TASS—"For thirty years China ran a planned economy but now this economic model has undergone a significant change. We have begun to develop a planned market economy in accordance with the law of value."

This, the XINHUA News Agency reports, was said by Premier of the State Council of the PRC Li Peng during a meeting with a delegation of the international consultative committee of the Chase Manhattan Bank (USA), now in the People's Republic of China. The head of the Chinese Government said that "such economy differs both from the economy of capitalist countries and from the (?traditional) economy of socialist countries."

He pointed out that in the market economy of China there has now arisen the question of prices. The current irrational system of prices "constitutes a serious obstacle to the development of market economy." Referring to the recent increase in prices of some food products, Li Peng said that the measure is "called upon to stimulate the activity of peasants."

Also today the representatives of the U.S. banking community met in the house of popular assemblies with the Chairman of the Central Military Commission of the PRC Deng Xiaoping. "Now," the Chinese leader said, "we are engaged in a new undertaking which involves no small risk. It does not proceed without a hitch. I often urge our comrades to act more courageously since China's sole way out lies in a more thorough pursuit of the reform and expanded ties with the outside world." Deng Xiaoping expressed the opinion that "it is difficult to avoid mistakes in such complex conditions. That is why it is necessary to act more courageously." Deng Xiaoping said that China faces broad prospects which give one a sense of confidence. At the same time he invoked the need to "be even more modest and cautious."

Public's Reactions to Price Hikes Described
PM2005134588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 May 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS Beijing correspondent M. Abulkhatin dispatch: "Coping With Prices"]

[Text] Beijing—If price rises are accompanied by improved living conditions and a better provision of the public sector market with goods and food, then the majority of the population finds them acceptable. This is the conclusion reached by specialists at the scientific research institute for the transformation of the PRC's economic system in the course of a sociological survey on the problems of price rises in the country, a TASS correspondent in Beijing reports for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

In a country with a population of 1 billion, any rise in prices is the subject of broad discussion. Attention was focused on this problem at the 13th CPC Congress and the recent National People's Congress session. JINJI CANKAO writes that the price hikes in 1985-1987 were caused by excessive industrial growth and capital construction, a sharp increase in consumption funds, shortages of a number of important goods and foodstuffs, and the irrational structure of the economy. During 1981-1986 the wages of workers and employees rose by almost 17.5 percent, outstripping the national income growth rate.

The country's population has reacted in various ways to the government decision a few days ago to introduce 30-60 percent price hikes on four main types of foodstuffs—meat, fresh vegetables, eggs, and sugar. As the sociological survey data show, the inhabitants of the country's major cities—Beijing, Shanghai, and Tianjin—

whose main income is made up of "fixed wages" are most dissatisfied. Specialists note that the only thing these people can do is to press for corresponding wage increases and demand that the government take prices under firm control. Private and collective entrepreneurs are much less dissatisfied.

Economists believe that with the deepening of the process of reform and the development of socialist commodity production it is impossible to guarantee that prices will remain constantly at the same level. At the same time, in areas where the reform is proceeding successfully, as for instance in Guangdong (Guangdong Province), the population has more opportunities to cope with "the burden of price hikes."

Uzbek, Xinjiang Companies Sign Contract
LD1905213588 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 1430 GMT 19 May 88

[Text] A contract was signed in Tashkent today between the Uzbekkomorg Foreign Trade association and the trading company of the Xinjiang region of the PRC.

[Correspondent I. Abdukhalikov, identified by caption] This was preceded by a Soviet-Chinese exhibition of border trade in which republics of Central Asia, Kazakhstan, and the RSFSR took part. A wide range of commodities was on show: radio equipment, textiles, sown and knitted goods, Chinese glass, and domestic appliances.

[Begin (Yan Vantian), deputy general director of the Chinese company, recording in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] We can see fine prospects ahead, and I must point out that economic relations play a huge part in enlivening the market and improving the lives of the people of our countries, mutual understanding, and friendship. We hope for further development and widening of trade. After all, it is not for nothing that they say: Where diplomacy goes into a skid, trade will forge a path for itself. [end recording]

[Abdukhalikov] It has to be pointed out that Uzbekistan's participation in the country's foreign economic ties is not at the moment meeting its potential. The existing psychological barrier must be overcome, the competitiveness of output must be enhanced, and the setting up of direct links between enterprises in the republic and foreign partners is one way of solving this problem.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Pogodin Comments on 'Cambodian Problem'
BK2505085988 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia
1330 GMT 24 May 88

[Station observer Aleksandr Pogodin commentary]

[Text] The path toward resolving the Cambodian problem has been the subject of discussions held in Moscow between the Soviet and Vietnamese foreign ministers, Comrades Eduard Shevardnadze and Nguyen Co Thach.

The Soviet Union fully shares with the ASEAN countries and the world community their concern over the as yet unresolved Cambodian problem. During meetings and talks with delegations of countries in this region, the Soviet side has always raised for discussion all possible options for settling the Cambodian problem. The latest example is the visit paid to the Soviet Union last week by Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon during which he met with CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and held talks with Soviet Government leader Nikolay Ryzhkov.

As it does with regard to questions pertaining to relations with other states, during these meetings the Soviet Union always referred to the principle that the Cambodian problem cannot be solved through confrontation. Regarding this and cases in other regions, it is necessary to seek a political means to settle the conflict. Certainly, such a settlement is possible only after the major interests of the Cambodian people are taken into consideration; the settlement also must be based on the principles of national reconciliation. Along these lines, it is necessary to take into consideration the security and peaceful development of all states in this region.

I would like to emphasize that these problems are not easy to resolve. But no matter how complicated they may be, there will certainly finally be a concrete trend and views for settling the problem based on dialogue between the conflicting Cambodian parties.

The Soviet Union has positively assessed the meeting between Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. Efforts to promote this process and change armed confrontation into dialogue will significantly contribute to a peaceful solution of the problem.

The Soviet Union is always ready to cooperate with other states in efforts to defuse the situation around Cambodia and foster an atmosphere of stability and cooperation in Southeast Asia.

Soviet, SRV Foreign Ministers on Cambodia Issue
BK2505073388 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia
1330 GMT 24 May 88

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Comrade Eduard Shevardnadze yesterday met with Vietnamese Foreign Minister Comrade Nguyen Co Thach, who made a stopover in Moscow on his way to Havana.

The two foreign ministers expressed their conviction that the path to solving the Cambodian problem lies through dialogue between the opposing parties on the basis of national reconciliation principles.

Near East & South Asia

Kabul Rocket Attack Brings Few Casualties

LD2405221088 Moscow TASS in English 2044 GMT
24 May 88

[Text] Kabul May 24 TASS—Extremists fired six surface-to-surface rockets at a densely populated area in southern Kabul Tuesday morning, killing one person and wounding three others.

Several houses and household structures were destroyed in that barbarous action.

Lizichev Holds News Conference on Afghan Pullout

LD2505103488 Moscow TASS in English 0956 GMT
25 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—A total of 9,500 Soviet servicemen, nearly 1,000 units of military equipment have been returned home from Afghanistan to this day, said General of the Army Aleksey Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy. He was speaking here today at the Press-Centre of the Soviet-American summit meeting, addressing the press-conference on the subject "Political settlement around Afghanistan—an example of new thinking in action."

In the course of the first three months, the general continued, more than 50 per cent of Soviet men and officers will be pulled out of Afghanistan. The process of withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan will be completed by February 15, 1989.

The return of the Soviet troops home from Afghanistan, General Lizichev went on to say, is an expression of new political thinking and is being carried out in the spirit of the new Soviet military doctrine, which is of a purely defensive character and presupposes all-round assistance to a political settlement of regional conflicts.

Speaking on the stay of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan, the general stressed that it had contributed towards eliminating the external threat to the territorial integrity and independence of that sovereign state. Touching upon the assistance rendered by the Soviet servicemen in Afghanistan, General Lizichev cited the following figures: They have built, repaired and restored 168 school buildings, childrens homes, pre-school child-care institutions, 44 hospitals, 35 mosques, 352 apartment houses, dug 156 km of irrigation ditches and canals, built or restored 913 km of roads, 249 bridges, water wells and drill holes. The medical institutions of the Soviet Army units have granted medical care, chiefly in the distant areas, difficult of access, to more than 400 thousand Afghans.

The Soviet people hold sacred the memory of their sons, who gave up their lives in doing their military, internationalist duty in Afghanistan, Aleksey Lizichev stressed.

"The USSR has lost in the Republic of Afghanistan by the beginning of May 1988: 13,310 men killed, 35,478 wounded and 311 were reported missing." In that connection he drew attention to the fact that measures are being taken and will further be taken in the Soviet Union to find out the destiny of every Soviet serviceman reported missing. "We will also help towards the return home of those servicemen who, due to different reasons found themselves in the hands of insurgents or abroad."

In conclusion General Lizichev stressed that the whole personnel of the Soviet Armed Forces wholeheartedly support the dynamic, realistic and peace-loving foreign policy of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government aimed at preventing war, settling regional conflicts, including in Afghanistan. "The Soviet Army is making its contribution also to resolving the tasks of revolutionary perestroika of the Soviet society," the general stressed.

AFP Report

AU2505111688 Paris AFP in English 1056 GMT
25 May 88

[Report by Anne Penketh]

[Excerpts] Moscow, May 25 (AFP)—A total 13,310 Soviet soldiers have been killed and 35,478 wounded in Afghanistan since Moscow's military intervention to prop up a faltering communist regime on December 27, 1979, the Soviet Army and Navy's chief political commissar said here Wednesday.

It was the first official confirmation of the number of Soviet casualties in the eight-and-a-half-year war, and came 10 days after Geneva accords providing for a Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan came into effect. [passage omitted]

General Aleksey Lizichev, head of the Soviet Army and Navy Political Department, who said the Soviet losses were "quite large", told a press conference here that 311 other persons had been reported missing since the military intervention.

Prisoners-of-war captured and held outside the country by Afghan rebels fighting the Soviet-backed Kabul government were included in the figure of missing soldiers, he said. Moscow was seeking their return.

Gen Lizichev said that a total 9,500 Soviet officers and men had pulled out of Afghanistan since May 15, when the U.N.-monitored Geneva accords signed by Pakistan and Afghanistan came into force. One thousand units of military equipment had left Afghanistan, he said.

But the general refused to say how many Soviet troops were in the "limited Soviet contingent" which is currently withdrawing over a nine-month period, and would not confirm or deny western estimates of a total 115,000 soldiers.

Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov, who was also present at Wednesday's news conference, told a visiting Italian delegation here on April 12 that 50,000 Soviet troops would be withdrawn by August 15, representing half of the total contingent in Afghanistan.

The commander-in-chief of the Soviet forces in Afghanistan, General Boris Gromov, said earlier this month that a quarter of the troops would have left the country by next Sunday, when Mr. Reagan arrives for his fourth summit with Mr. Gorbachev.

Gen. Lizichev would not comment on western reports that more than one million Afghans had lost their lives in the conflict, saying that the Afghan casualties were for the Afghan authorities to announce.

But he alleged that the local population had "suffered most of all" from the rebels' use of U.S.-made Stinger anti-aircraft missiles in the last 18 months. [passage omitted]

Gen. Lizichev would not give details on how the casualties were spread, and would not say whether there had been more since the withdrawal began 10 days ago.

Asked whether the Soviet military advisers currently in Afghanistan would remain there after the troop withdrawal is completed on February 15 next year, Gen. Lizichev said "it will be up to the Afghans whether to have advisers or not. If such a request was made, we will consider this request."

The United States considers military advisers to be part of the military assistance provided by Moscow to the Najibullah government, and insists that they should be withdrawn under the Geneva accords.

Asked whether Moscow would send its troops back into Afghanistan if so requested by the Afghan authorities "in 10 or 15 years", Gen. Lizichev replied: "come back in 10 or 15 years". The Soviet Union maintains it sent in the army in 1979 after receiving 17 requests from Kabul.

Mr. Vorontsov was equally evasive when asked to confirm that the "Brezhnev doctrine" was dead, saying that the policy under which Soviet troops had been sent into countries perceived as deviating from the Communist norm was "an invention" of the West. He said that Soviet troops were used "to protect the Soviet Union and its allies."

Gen. Lizichev, asked about reports in the Soviet media criticizing the military intervention, said that "we learned our lessons" from Afghanistan, notably concerning troop management and the use of armed forces in mountain areas.

He rejected suggestions that the Soviet mission in Afghanistan had failed, saying that the Soviet soldiers had "fulfilled their duty".

(Soviet officials now recognise privately that the military intervention in Afghanistan was a mistake.)

Mr. Vorontsov renewed accusations that Pakistan was violating the Geneva accords by permitting the continued use of Pakistani territory by the Afghan rebel alliance battling to topple the Najibullah government.

He accused the "Afghan fanatics, the fundamentalists" in the alliance of seven rebel groups of "trying to impose a bloody war on the people of Afghanistan", instead of accepting Kabul's national reconciliation policy and invitation to join a coalition government.

Mr. Vorontsov noted that Kabul had issued four protest notes to U.N. military observers monitoring the Geneva accords, charging Pakistani violation. [passage omitted]

General Lobov on Troop Withdrawal Schedule
AU1805104488 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 17 May 88 p 3

[Statement by Colonel General Vladimir Lobov, "first deputy chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces," "dispatched by the NARODNA MLADEZH press bureau" under the headline: "Points of View"]

[Text] It is often asked, whether our troops could not withdraw from Afghanistan even sooner than the expected 9-month period. The deadline and the order of withdrawal for the Soviet troops in Afghanistan were settled by the Geneva agreements. Any deviation from this timetable may produce undesirable consequences. Strict international monitoring of the implementation of the agreements has been established. In addition, the schedules for the withdrawal of our contingent were set up in accordance with the conditions existing in the country. The network of roads and the state of communications in Afghanistan are relatively underdeveloped and the withdrawal of troops should by no means obstruct the viability of Afghanistan's economy. How can we describe the difficulties likely to accompany the process of withdrawal? As is known, difficulties may arise whenever the army sub-units are not prepared for them. Troop movements, at any time, require strict organization and a highly experienced commanding staff. As for the situation in Afghanistan, the existing difficulties are further increased by the peculiar geographical and climatic conditions of this country. In addition to this, we should not underestimate the possibility of actions by armed groups.

We are doing everything in our power to avoid any, even accidental, losses in the process of our withdrawal.

Kabul Troop Headquarters Work Reported
*LD2005190488 Moscow TASS international Service
in Russian 1409 GMT 20 May 88*

[By TASS special correspondents G. Baykov and M. Zakharchuk]

[Text] Kabul, 20 May (TASS)—Today, with the permission of the commander, we visited the headquarters of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops (LCST) in Afghanistan. Intense work, the importance of which it is impossible to overestimate, has literally not stopped for a single minute in this building, day or night, for over 8 years now. Information about the lives and combat activity of our units and sub-units arrives here from all over the country. It is here that the decisions are made and all vital orders and instructions are issued.

Now that the Soviet internationalist servicemen are leaving Afghanistan in accordance with the Geneva agreements, the headquarter's rhythm of work, already quite intense, has reached a peak.

Colonel S. Kitsak, who explained things to us, had managed to get only a few hours' sleep over the last days, but he does not look tired or worn out: The experience of many years of service has its effect, and nearly 5 years have been devoted to Afghanistan. The overwhelming majority of specialists at headquarters are like him. Here it is impossible to "serve time," just as it is impossible to sit on the fence behind someone else's back. Battles are going on here: and only experienced, well-trained, bold, and courageous men are needed.

Self-possessed and curt, as befits a military man, Kitsak issues instructions one after the other without losing the thread of our conversation:

"We are preparing each column particularly thoroughly, because the opposition, which is openly ignoring the Geneva agreements, is trying in every way to hinder the advance of our units, a fact they have announced publicly more than once. Here is a report that has just been received: an armed group of up to 100 men has been moved up in the Kotlami [name as received] Region. Clearly, they had not come to welcome our column. A little while earlier the shelling of the column with anti-aircraft shells in the Shurab Region had been averted.

"Thanks to the precise work of all the bodies of the combat directorate and the great skill of the personnel of the units undertaking the march, not a single shot was aimed directly at the columns."

At the headquarters: The usual word phrase "hard work is in full swing" only partially accounts for that is going on here. The headquarters is the main control center of our limited contingent, where one can see—metaphorically speaking—not only regiments and battalions, but also platoons and vehicles as well as individual groups wherever they are, whether they are near Qandahar, Khonduz

or in the highlands of Salang. When an unpredictable a situation arises many kilometers from here, Lieutenant General B.V. Gromov, commander of the limited contingent of Soviet troops; Major General Yu.p. Grekov, the headquarters' chief; and Major General A.I. Zakharov, the political department chief, arrive here immediately. These people, wise with experience, will be supervising the troops' actions.

Combat control centers—of course, smaller in size—are situated along the entire route to be used by the convoys for overnight rest. A stable communication link is constantly maintained with them. Appropriate information is being regularly sent on visual display terminals to higher headquarters. From the headquarters of the limited contingent of Soviet troops. Air Force subunits are also being commanded from this building.

The headquarters receives information about the location of a convoy from the unit commander. Information also arrives here from every other service. Today it is being received by Majors V. Borisov, N. Kolomiyets, V. Velichko, and Senior Lieutenant I. Bukharov, who are on duty.

We do not want to go into detail about their complex work. We just wish to note that each of these officers, thanks to his knowledge and selfless work in the Army, qualifies for work of such high responsibility.

Lieutenant Colonel N. Larionov, a convoy chief, is on the telephone. We ask for permission to speak to him.

"'Cedar' this is 'Kama'. Report on the situation!" Nikolay Vasiliyevich's clear report comes over through like staccato Morse Code: "No vents here. The convoy is moving exactly to schedule. We will be arriving at our overnight rest site on the dot. All the combat vehicles are in order. People are in high spirits, after all we are going home..."

The commander's intonation as he says his last sentence sounds somewhat unusual. On the other hand, what is so surprising about that? After all, our servicemen are coming back home, having honestly fulfilled their military duty.

They are among the first to come back home today. But some garrisons will stay on Afghan soil until the beginning of next year, in accordance with the Geneva accords. For, as has been said, the extremists do not want to abandon their aggressive plans. The precise and well-coordinated work of our officers will carry on in the headquarters of the limited contingent of Soviet troops just as before. Their service on Afghan soil is not over yet.

Historian Quotes Casualties in Afghan Conflict

DW200940 Frankfurt/Main

FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 20 May
p 3

[Article signed "W.A.": "Moscow Says 15,000 Soviet Soldiers Died in Afghanistan"]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 19 May—Between 12,000 and 15,000 Soviet soldiers are said to have died in Afghanistan. Western estimates are "more or less correct", Soviet historian Rosental said on Thursday, thus providing for the first time exact figures on questions about the extent of Moscow's own losses. Before journalists in the Soviet capital, Rosental—who was assisted by two Orientalists—modified his statement and said that he "went too far" with that information. He was referring to the Foreign Ministry spokesman, who had previously pledged to give detailed information about the strength of the "limited troop contingent" that was brought into Afghanistan in 1979 and about the number of dead soldiers.

The reason the three scientists went to the public was NOVOSTI's announced intention to clarify "blank spots" in the history of Afghanistan by means of allegedly unpublished documents from the Indian National Archives. [passage omitted]

Medical Aid Provided to Afghan People

LD1905213188 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 19 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; Ada Petrova video report from Kabul]

[Text] Counterrevolutionary forces are continuing their provocations in Afghanistan. Soviet doctors remain at their battle stations. Over to our correspondent Ada Petrova.

[Petrova] During these last few days—which are at the same time both joyous and tragic—when the Geneva Accords have come into force and the Soviet Union has begun the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan, subversive actions have become an almost daily occurrence in the country. Despite the difficulties and the threats, all of us—both Soviet and Afghan people—are working, and, so naturally are the doctors. Some 120 specialist doctors are operating selflessly in the republican capital, constantly going out into the far-from-safe areas.

This is the center of Kabul. You can see how the people are living here. Even here, in the capital, many of them have never been to a doctor. They are hampered by prejudice, prohibition by their relatives, (and so on). With the majority, however, it is simply the absence of the elementary norms of sanitation and hygiene. The Health Ministry is organizing these itinerant teams of

Afghan and Soviet doctors. The medical assistants are only just notifying the inhabitants of the region, but the people have already surrounded the clinic on the street.

Sleeping on a clay or stone floor, drinking water from ditches, often undernourished, the people are subjected to all infections—tuberculosis, polio, cholera, typhus, diphtheria, hepatitis, and other terrible diseases are in nearly every house and every family. It is precisely these densely populated areas which are attacked most by the enemy.

Anatoliy Vasiliyevich Grishin and Lidiya Georgiyevna Bachinskaya, here on the street or in the Central Kabul outpatients clinic built with our country's assistance, are able to take up to 100 patients. They work from morning till late in the evening. Soviet doctors are especially trusted in Afghanistan. Their high professionalism, benevolence, and compassion win the people over.

[Begin Afghan Health Minister Sher Bahadur recording in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] We have always had only a few hospitals and a shortage of personnel. The war has destroyed 200 hospitals and yet we have managed to do a great deal with the assistance of our Soviet friends. We have built new hospitals. The Soviet Union has equipped and opened 125 health centers in the provinces. Each one cost R50,000. We have now received R10, million of gratuitous aid. All this will play a huge part in the development of Afghanistan's health services. Our friendship is inviolable; it will develop and we will defend it. [end recording]

Afghan Reconciliation's 'Success' Detailed

LD2205102988 Moscow TASS in English 0919 GMT
22 May 88

[Text] Kabul May 22 TASS—Six thousand and five hundred families of refugees in 140 settlements of the Republic of Afghanistan received gratis material aid from the government last month. Free medical service was provided to those who needed it.

Caravans of peace are heading to remote areas of Afghanistan. As part of the national reconciliation programme they will distribute among the local residents foodstuffs, clothing and other prime necessities.

Refugees keep returning to the homeland. Another 12 families of the repatriates are back home. Material aid was extended to them and assistance in getting to native parts in Nangarhar Province.

Members of opposition armed groups switch to the side of the popular government. They declare their refusal to fight against their fellow citizens and their desire to make a contribution within their powers to the cause of peaceful construction in Afghanistan. All this is evidence

of the success of the policy steered by the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan. Another two such groups downed arms in Sar-e Pol and Kabul provinces.

However, the irreconcilable part of the opposition, whose leaders entrenched themselves in the territory of neighbouring Pakistan, do not abandon attempts to thwart the efforts by the Afghan leadership to establish peace and tranquility in the country. Extremists fired heavy arms at residential neighbourhoods of the city of Ghazni one of these days, killing two children and destroying a mosque.

Government troops give a decisive rebuff to the extremists' raids. A gang which terrorized the local population was routed in a district of Kabul Province Saturday. A large amount of weapons was seized as a result of the successful operation.

Accords, End of Ramadan Bring Chance for Peace
PM2405091188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 22 May 88 Second Edition p 3

[Dispatch by special correspondents Lieutenant Colonel V. Nikanorov, Lt Col A. Oliynik, and Major N. Burbyga: "Thorny Path to Peace"]

[Text] Kabul—Last Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday were holidays in Afghanistan. In accordance with Muslim religious tradition, the last 3 days of Ramadan release orthodox Muslims from restrictions on eating, drinking, and other pleasures of life. During these days Afghans visit each other and spend long hours in staid conversation at abundantly laid tables.

There is also a custom here connected with this holiday. If, for instance, two brothers have been in dispute the whole year without talking to each other, then during these days they are obliged to meet, to embrace, and make peace, forgetting their differences. Looking at the smiling faces of the festively dressed people filling the Kabul streets, we thought: It would be a good thing if this custom were to affect not only individual families but also the entire country so that brothers and sisters, fathers and mothers of the enormous Afghan family, discarding their differences, could embark jointly on bringing order to their common home and build an independent, nonaligned, sovereign Afghanistan.

The necessary prerequisites have been created for this thanks to the signing and entry into force of the Geneva agreements, thanks to the policy of national conciliation which is being pursued in the country. In Afghanistan today all strata of Afghan society, all nationalities have equal political, economic, and social rights and equal opportunities have been opened up before all Afghans to work for their country and to take part in its political life on the basis of a multiparty system. The government and president of the Republic of Afghanistan are persistently

urging all opposition forces to cease fire, to cease the fratricidal war and bloodshed, to sit down at the conference table, and to build together a peaceful, flourishing state.

We talked about all this with Akbar Shormach, Afghan minister of nationalities affairs. This man, no longer young, is anxious for the future of his native country, he thinks a lot about how to make it peaceful and prosperous.

"Our ministry," Shormach says, "was created just a few months ago, although it would perhaps have been worth creating it immediately after the revolution. The policy of national conciliation has now brought it to life."

The new ministry's main tasks include mass work among the population with a view to accelerating the implementation of the policy of national conciliation, the study of the economic, cultural, and political requirements of every ethnic group and tribe inhabiting Afghanistan, and the satisfaction of these needs.

"Each region in our country," Comrade Shormach says, "has its own economic features. For instance, hand weaving is developed in Afghan Turkmenistan. We are trying to boost it to an industrial level. Here the Soviet republics of Central Asia, with whom cooperation and direct patronage ties are developing and expanding, are rendering us invaluable assistance. We are seeking to consider local conditions just as attentively in the regions populated by other ethnic groups."

"Or here is another important problem," the minister continued. "Under the monarchy many nationalities in our country were arbitrarily split up among different provinces. The result was that one and the same tribe, one and the same ethnic group, is subordinated to two or three authorities. And the leaders in the regions where a particular nationality lives are often representatives of another nationality. Herein lie the reasons for much unpleasantness. To eliminate the source of conflicts we intend to change the country's administrative division. A proposal on the creation of Nurestan Province has already been submitted to the republic's council of ministers. To this day most Nurestanis live in Konarha and Laghman provinces. Our task is to eliminate the consequences of the oppression to which some tribes and ethnic groups have been subjected for many years in our country.

The minister was silent for a moment and, lost in thought, touched his fingers to the gray stubble of his close-cut moustache and said with conviction: "The main thing is justice both in relations between people in the family and in relations between peoples in the state."

For Comrade Shormach justice is no abstract concept. It was for the sake of justice that, after serving in the Army for 3 decades, he joined the PDPA. He has not abandoned the ideals of justice despite the by no means

empty threats of his enemies. The scars from four bullet wounds recall this to this day. Here is another characteristic detail. This year one of the minister's six sons completes study at the Kazakh State University. As an excellent student, he was asked to remain as a research student. The young man asked his father for permission. The latter replied: The law is the law and under the law you must work for 2 years before continuing your study...

Yes, in this difficult period for the country every pair of hands counts.

"For over 8 years the imperialists and the internal reaction waged an undeclared war against the Afghan people. It was essential to find a way out of this extremely dangerous situation. A way out was found—thanks to the new political thinking born in the Soviet Union, thanks to the constructive cooperation between different states, thanks to the policy of national conciliation. The Geneva agreements on Afghanistan adopted with the United Nations' active assistance accord with the interests of all ethnic groups and tribes of Afghanistan. The 'Geneva package' means salvation from death, means the water of life. It is important that everyone fulfill these agreements, otherwise the hostility will not abate," the minister said at the conclusion of our talk.

Unfortunately, the "intransigents" continue to be reluctant to consider the arguments of reason. They are intimidating people and spreading various rumors. For instance, one inhabitant of Ghazni Province with whom we talked described how the extremists are directly threatening those cooperating with the state authorities that after the withdrawal of the "shuravi" 300 people including 60 women will be physically annihilated in accordance with lists which have already been prepared.

Former rebels who have gone over to the side of the people's power told us that a directive demanding the activation of hostilities has been circulated among armed detachments of the opposition. It states that foreign military aid to the opposition will not cease and that a substantial material reward is promised for each Soviet helicopter and aircraft shot down.

The "intransigents" are preparing for new acts of provocation. At the head of their detachments they are placing the most aggressive men prepared to fulfill any instruction. Thus the head of an armed grouping in Badakhshan Province, one Basir, was replaced for "passivity" and in his place they appointed Najmuddin, whose cruelty and religious fanaticism have won him notoriety among the province's population.

...Muhammad Aslam fled from the "condemned men's detachment" where he had been sent for listening to an "Afghan gak" [name as published] radio station broadcast. He said that the weapons on Pakistani territory are being hurriedly shipped to Afghan territory. Trucks belonging to the Pakistani Armed Forces are being used.

According to many repatriates with whom we met at the border reception points, the opposition's centers and headquarters on Pakistani territory had not in fact been shut down as required by the Geneva agreements. Moreover, it has been noted that in the places from which the Soviet troops are withdrawing separatist feelings are being fuelled among the tribes. The aim of these actions is clear—to plunge Afghanistan into a civil war. A certain contribution to this is being made by the "Voice of Free Afghanistan" radio station, which is continuing subversive anti-Afghan activity from Pakistani territory, and by dozens of other hostile radio voices which broadcast for many hours every day in Pushtun and Dari. For instance, the "Voice of Free Afghanistan" radio station is rushing to report that the border population centers which subunits of the Afghan Armed Forces have left with a view to the unimpeded return to the motherland of refugees have allegedly been seized as a result of the fighting.

"The lie is obvious," Lieutenant Colonel Dalil, an officer in the Afghan Army main political directorate, says. "This is being done to generate uncertainty among the population with respect to our armed forces' combat capability. We are faced with difficult tasks, but we believe that our armed forces, relying on the people's support, will reliably defend the gains of the April Revolution. The path to peace in our country is a thorny one."

Kornilov: Accords Create 'Fair' Settlement
LD2405195288 Moscow TASS in English 1833 GMT
24 May 88

["An Interference Should Be Ended"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov writes:

Rockets explode in Kabul again. A woman was killed. Damage was inflicted on the Bute Aho footwear factory. That barbarous action has been staged by extremists. Firing at Kabul, they wish to roll back the policy of national reconciliation, to render ineffective the "Geneva package".

The Geneva accords, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan create the necessary conditions for an ultimate and fair settlement of the "Afghan problem". This settlement, as far as its internal aspects are concerned, must be reached on the basis of national reconciliation. Kabul declares consistently for the setting up of a coalition government, for a vigorous involvement of all the sections and groups of the Afghan population in the establishment of peaceful life and strengthening the sovereignty of Afghanistan as a neutral nonaligned state.

The road to national reconciliation is open. This road is already taken by thousands upon thousands of Afghans, but not those who would like to impose themselves on the Afghan people as rulers with undivided power. To

achieve their aims the "Insurgents" are prepared to use any means, including brute force. So trucks with dynamite driven from Pakistan, explode in Kabul, rockets hit residential quarters of the Afghan capital.

The question naturally arises if the extremists would be able to act in this way if it were not for the outside backing. Certainly, not. The matter is that their camps and bases are preserved on the Pakistani territory, that armaments with the trade mark "made in USA" stream there. The extremists are instigated to armed sallies, to "war till victory". And how can one assess the statements made in Islamabad about the readiness to recognize a "provisional government" opposing Kabul which certain extremists would like to knock together behind the backs of the Afghan people?

Afghanistan's Foreign Ministry has just turned over to a group of U.N. observers in Kabul an official note, the third of its kind, which demands that the activity of the extremists who got entrenched in Pakistan be investigated and points out to Islamabad that it is obliged to strictly observe the provisions of the Geneva accords. This is a justified demand. It is clearly stated in the Geneva documents that the interference in the Afghan affairs should be stopped and that the material base for the waging of the undeclared war against the Afghan people should be eliminated. And this, naturally, refers to Pakistan. It should be noted that this also refers to the USA for if it continues to supply armaments to opposition groups, the guarantees the USA assumed in Geneva will remain empty words.

The Afghan people is the sole full-fledged master in its home and no one has a right to prevent it from establishing a long-awaited peace in its native land.

Najibullah Notes Results of 'Flexible Policy'
LD2405202188 Moscow TASS in English 1813 GMT
24 May 88

[Text] Bonn May 24 TASS—"Jointly with the Soviet Union we have exerted great efforts to resolve the problems in Afghanistan and around it. Our flexible policy made the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan possible." Afghanistan's president Najibullah said this in an interview published by the journal DER SPIEGEL today.

In keeping with the Geneva accords, the United States has undertaken not to interfere in Afghanistan's internal affairs any longer, he went on to say. "We expect the United States to be true to this oscillation. Meanwhile, there is information that the USA has supplied the armed opposition with the most up-to-date weapons, including "Milan" anti-tank missiles, new missiles "Stinger", mortars and long-range missiles.

The Afghan leader emphasized the striving of his country to establish good relations on a basis of equality and recognition of mutual interests with all countries, particularly with the USA. He said that the policy of national reconciliation conducted in Afghanistan is supported by the international public, by all sections of the Afghan population, including refugees. There are supporters of this policy even in the ranks of armed opposition. "All this gives confidence and is a guarantee of success. Everything we are doing is in keeping with the interests of the Islamic people of Afghanistan. We recognize and respect its religious convictions," he said.

Najibullah emphasized that Afghanistan pays much attention to the creation of favourable conditions for the return of refugees. He recalled that friendly socialist countries guaranteed the granting of comprehensive aid for the solution of this problem.

He said the Afghan opposition lands in an ever greater isolation in the country and on the international scene. Afghanistan's Armed Forces are capable of rebuffing all onslaughts on the peaceful life of the Afghan people if the armed outside interference is stopped," Najibullah said.

Afghan National Assembly Meeting Previewed
LD2305144288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0330 GMT 23 May 88

[From the 'Panorama' program, presented by foreign news announcer Korshunov]

[Text] Along with the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow, attention is still being focused on the situation in Afghanistan. This is understandable. After the beginning last week of the withdrawal of particular units of the Soviet contingent of servicemen many people are asking the question: How will events in this country develop further, particularly as the first session of the national assembly, the parliament, should take place any day now? I asked our Kabul correspondent, Aleksandr Shkirando, to tell us.

[Shkirando] It is difficult to say whether it is because of the forthcoming session of the country's highest legislative body or a change in tactics on the part of the counterrevolutionaries but, nonetheless, the situation in Afghanistan these days is calm. On the eve of the beginning of the Soviet troop withdrawal, leaders of the Peshawar opposition intensified their intimidation of the Afghan population with concentrated shelling of the regions where our troops are located and by seizing at the same time a number of regions in the country. Since then, however, they have not seized a single subdistrict although they have shelled civilian towns and villages with rockets. Attempts to intimidate the population of the capital continue. Thus, the other day in Kabul extremists scattered leaflets in which they demanded that shops be closed and people not go out into the streets on certain days because of the conduct of military operations.

[Korshunov] Aleksandr, what is the attitude of the opposition to the forthcoming National Assembly session?

[Shkirando] I should give some explanation of the term opposition. Serious changes have been occurring in the opposition camp of late. The part of the opposition that is located primarily on Afghan territory or the second echelon opposition as it is called is yielding increasingly strongly to the thought of supporting national reconciliation.

Many of its representatives took part in the National Assembly elections and nominated their candidates for this, the country's highest legislative body. As for the other part of the opposition, the so-called irreconcilable ones situated in Pakistan, they continue to fervently oppose the national reconciliation policy. The leaders of this part of the opposition, primarily Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, fill the airwaves virtually every day with calls to overthrow the Afghan Government. They are hurriedly transferring weapon stocks from Pakistan to Afghanistan, patently preparing to continue the fratricidal war. But the absolute majority of Afghans believe that the first National Assembly session will be an important event toward forming a multiparty system and a coalition government. They understand that only on the basis of national reconciliation and the joining together of all democratic forces in resolving the nation's fundamental problems will it be possible to embark on the road of peace, leading to the long awaited peace in Afghanistan. The present Afghan leadership is doing everything to ensure that broad, all-Afghan dialogue is started in the country.

[Korshunov] As yet, unfortunately, one has to note that the seats in the parliament reserved for the opposition remain vacant.

Najibullah: Government Prepared To Share Power
LD2405123788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 May 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Najibullah Interview"]

[Text] Delhi, 22 May—The Afghan Government is capable of defending its own country. The INDIAN EXPRESS reports that Afghan President Najibullah said this in an interview with a group of Indian journalists. He expressed confidence that all moderate forces will participate in the country's coalition government.

The president stressed that the Afghan Government is solidly committed to implementing the Geneva agreements. At the same time, he noted, the U.S. representatives have been made aware of Afghanistan's concern over the violations of the agreements that have occurred. If the United States continues to supply opposition groupings with weapons the guarantees on the part of the United States will remain empty words.

Concerning the question of the future Government of Afghanistan, the president noted that the PDPA is prepared to share power with other partners in a coalition on the basis of political and program compromises which would meet Afghanistan's national interests.

Najibullah told the journalists that Afghan forces had carried out a number of operations against armed opposition groupings in the vicinity of Jalalabad during which batches of weapons were captured.

Najibullah Speaks on Nation's Educational Goals
LD2305211088 Moscow TASS in English 2058 GMT
23 May 88

[Text] Kabul May 23 TASS—President of the Republic of Afghanistan Najibullah has made an address to the scientists and teachers of the country on the occasion of the current public education week. The network of institutions to train cadres of teachers was broadened over the period that passed since the April Revolution, struggle is actively under way to wipe out illiteracy, the address says. The gains in the sphere of education testify to the state's great attention to the upbringing of the rising generation. To foster national scientific cadres is the aim of the leadership of the Republic, Najibullah said. But the Afghan people will be able to attain this aim only in conditions of peace, and establishment of peace in the country is being prevented by opponents of the national reconciliation policy, Najibullah said.

The President's address was distributed by the BAKHTAR news agency today.

Kabul Sewer System Plans Under Way
LD2005154888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1000 GMT 20 May 88

[Text] Soviet specialists have begun drawing up a water supply and sewer scheme of Kabul. The project is based on the results of the research carried out in Afghanistan last year and at the beginning of this year.

This is one of the first steps in implementing the 1989-1999 cooperation agreement between the two capitals. Within its framework the Muscovites will participate in reconstructing a motor-transport enterprise and will draw up proposals on constructing a trolley-bus line in Kabul.

'Fourth' Appeal on Pakistani Violation Cited
LD2405221188 Moscow TASS in English 2152 GMT
24 May 88

[Text] Kabul May 24 TASS—The Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan has handed in an official note to the team of U.N. observers in Kabul. The note draws attention to the sharp increase in recent days of the shipments of arms and ammunitions to the anti-government factions in Afghanistan from Pakistan's

territory. Besides, there are also facts of illegal penetration of Afghanistan by foreign military advisers and specialists to assist the extremists in mastering the handling of weapons and training them in the techniques of waging hostilities.

The Afghan Government has demanded that the Pakistani authorities strictly and consistently abide by the Geneva accords.

This is the fourth note on this question handed in by the Republic of Afghanistan to the U.N. observer team.

Vorontsov Warns Pakistan

LD2505082888 Moscow TASS in English 0820 GMT
25 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—"The Soviet troops are returning home from Afghanistan normally, without complications," Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, said here today.

To that end a certain amount of work was, of course, necessary by Soviet and Afghan military, he noted, addressing a press conference. The attempts at complicating the withdrawal of troops from the area of Jalalabad, the last of which are to arrive in Soviet territory already tomorrow, have been foiled.

Yuliy Vorontsov stressed the need for a strict observance of the commitments of the sides contained in the Geneva accords on non-interference in each other's home affairs and renunciation of intervention. In that connection he drew attention to the fact that the dispatch to Afghanistan of personnel of armed detachments and materiel for anti-government troops has recently sharply increased with the connivance of the Pakistani authorities. "If the Pakistani side fails to abide by the Geneva agreements, we will react as will be required by the circumstances," the Soviet first deputy foreign minister stressed.

Pakistani Opposition Urges Accord Observance LD2305161988 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 23 May 88

[Text] New Delhi May 23 TASS—The participants in a seminar held in Islamabad demanded that the Pakistani Administration immediately withdraw support from Afghan opposition groups and strictly comply with the Geneva accords on the political settlement relating to Afghanistan. The Indian newspaper "NATIONAL HERALD" reported today that speakers at the seminar—leaders of Pakistan's major opposition parties. Representatives of mass public organizations, prominent scientists and journalists sharply criticise the present foreign policy course of the Ziaul Haq government which poses a threat to peace and security in south-east and south Asia.

Pakistan's overt participation in the war against sovereign Afghanistan is a disgraceful page in Pakistan's history, said leader of the People's National Party Abdul Wali Khan. He said that now that the signing of the Geneva accords opened the way for the restoration of peace in the region, all the parties should make concrete contribution to this process.

The Soviet Union has already started pulling out its limited military contingent from Afghanistan, the leader of the People's National Party said. The Afghan Government is vigorously pursuing the policy of national reconciliation. But Islamabad, in violation of the Geneva accords, continues supporting armed groups of Afghan opposition that got entrenched in its territory and promotes the delivery of large consignments of U.S. armaments to them. These actions have led to the creation of an explosive situation in the area of Peshawar and the Khyber Pass where outrages of Afghan groups might provoke the explosion of wrath of the people.

Speakers at the seminar emphasized that Islamabad's support for enemies of the Republic of Afghanistan runs counter to the vital interests of the Pakistani people. They also pointed to the need for democratic reforms which should provide the basis for Pakistan's pursuing a truly peaceful course in the region and for the establishment of friendly relations with all Asian countries.

Pakistani Politician Denounces Arms Violations LD2505081188 Moscow TASS in English 0705 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Islamabad May 25 TASS—A leader of Pakistan's National People's Party (NPP), addressing a news conference in Peshawar, has accused the Islamabad Administration of violating the Geneva agreements on settling the situation relating to Afghanistan.

The FRONTIER POST newspaper quoted Mohammad Afzal Khan as saying that by continuing arms deliveries to the Afghan opposition and preserving their training camps on its territory, Islamabad was breaching its commitments.

The NPP leader pointed out that more than 400 truckloads of weapons passed through the town of Miranshah to Afghanistan in the past several days alone, and the deliveries were continuing.

Such activities, he said, posed a grave threat to the national interests of Pakistan and its people following the signing of the Geneva agreements. "It is our moral and constitutional duty to honour the documents we have signed," he pointed out.

Vorontsov Holds Talks With Pakistan's Sattar
LD2205170488 Moscow TASS in English 1406 GMT
22 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 22 TASS—Today Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan Abdus Sattar made a stop-over in Moscow on his way from Islamabad to Geneva.

At Sheremetyevo Airport, Abdus Sattar and Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, held a conversation on matters of mutual interest to both sides.

Moscow on Peres' U.S. Visit, Israel's Stand
LD2005153088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1645 GMT 18 May 88

[From the "International Diary" Program]

[Text] The 2-day private visit to the United States by Israeli Foreign Minister Peres, during which he held talks with Secretary of State Shultz, met leaders of the U.S. Congress, and was received by President Reagan, has ended. Reports from Washington note that Peres' visit has not provided any concrete results in the sense of progress toward peace in the Middle East. I hand over to my colleague Igor Surguchev.

[Surguchev] Yes, judging by the results of the trip across the ocean by the Israeli Foreign Minister, the path toward a just and stable peace in the Middle East remains blocked, though the peoples of the region and the entire world community have long been awaiting progress on a Middle East settlement. Expectations, and one ought to say justified expectations, have increased noticeably recently because the idea of convoking an authoritative international conference on the Middle East has received wider support around the world than ever before.

However, in the written statement on the results of the talks, published by the White House, nothing is said of the need to conduct it. However, the document confirms the adherence of the United States and Israel to the policy of strategic cooperation and to the desire for peace in the Middle East. Both the guest and the hosts spoke out in favor of an urgent peace settlement. In the words of White House Press Secretary Fitzwater, President Reagan even pointed out that such a settlement should be based on Security Council Resolution 242, which stipulates Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories in exchange for guarantees of its security and peaceful existence within internationally recognized borders.

For his part, in a conversation with journalists Peres declared his conviction of the possibility of finding a peaceful solution to the conflict through negotiations. Well, those are good and correct words. But unfortunately, they are not backed by deeds. The same Peres, filled with peaceableness and optimism with regard to Arab-Israeli reconciliation, spoke out firmly while in the

United States against Israel's return to the pre-1967 borders. He also spoke out against the establishment of a Palestinian state. In Peres' opinion, the path of separate negotiations is the best solution to the Middle East crisis.

As we can see, Israel is not willing to make even half a step toward the just demands of the Arabs on any of the main issues of a settlement. What is more, this is being said by the foreign minister, who is regarded as a dove in comparison to Prime Minister Shamir.

The Israeli leaders have simply become set in their obstructionist and rigid stand, which has been blocking progress toward peace in the Middle East for many years now. One can only wonder on what Mr Peres' optimism is based. He is probably being sustained by U.S. politicians, who are now trying to push through the Reagan administration's latest peace plan for the region.

The Israeli foreign minister supports the U.S. venture, although even Secretary of State Shultz has admitted the existence of wide-spread pessimism regarding the prospects for its implementation. This plan has been rejected by the Palestinians, and the Arab countries gave it a cool response, to put it mildly. Nevertheless, Washington is holding on tightly to it.

President Reagan told Peres that after the Moscow summit, Shultz will set off again for the Middle East to encourage Arab support for the U.S. plan. Incidentally, Shamir, the Israeli premier who is also not fully happy with the plan, also needs to be worked upon in this spirit.

It looks as though Washington is playing into Tel Aviv's hand with its efforts to drag through Reagan's peace plan, and is delaying the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East under UN auspices. In other words, it is delaying the beginning of a real peace process which could bring closer a just Middle East settlement.

'Arafat Addresses U.S., Israeli Terrorism Fears
LD2405095688 Moscow TASS in English 0839 GMT
24 May 88

[Text] Tunis May 24 TASS—Yasir 'Arafat has refuted claims by the U.S. Administration and Israeli authorities that the Palestine Liberation Organization and he personally are planning acts of terrorism against American and Israeli nationals.

Speaking at a news conference in the Tunisian capital, he dismissed such allegations circulating for the third week as undisguised lies and blatant fabrications.

He said they had been manufactured to delude public opinion about the nature of the Palestinian people's national liberation struggle for their legitimate rights.

The slanderous assertions were also directed, he added, at exonerating Tel Aviv's policy of government-sponsored terrorism against Arabs.

In fact, it was Israeli authorities in cooperation with U.S. secret services that were preparing further acts of terrorism against the leaders and activists of the Palestinian national liberation movement, 'Arafat, who chairs the PLO Executive Committee, said.

He accused the United States of encouraging Tel Aviv's crimes and supplying the Israeli military with arms. Those arms, 'Arafat noted, were being used by Israeli troops against civilians, including women and children, in occupied territories.

The United States was executing a similar policy in other regions as well, the PLO leader added, describing U.S. imperialism as an enemy of not only Arabs, but also other peoples, non-aligned nations and national liberation movements.

He spoke highly of the Soviet Union's support for the just cause of the Palestinian people and its demand for an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and all sides concerned, including the PLO, on an equal basis.

'Arafat said that Palestinians living both in occupied lands and elsewhere had collected more than a million signatures under an appeal to Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan ahead of their summit in Moscow.

It called on them to pay special attention to the resolution of the Palestinian problem and the need to restore peace to the Middle East.

'Arafat said the same issue would be raised also at the Arab summit in Algeria where the PLO would demand effective support and assistance to the Palestinian people's fair struggle.

Palestinians Appeal to Gorbachev, Reagan
*LD2305154988 Moscow TASS in English 1459 GMT
23 May 88*

[Text] Tunis May 23 TASS—More than a million Palestinians have signed an appeal to Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan ahead of their meeting in Moscow, WAFA news agency reported.

The document, drawn up by the united leadership of the Palestinian uprising, urged the Soviet and U.S. leaders to give special attention to resolving the Palestinian problem and achieving a fair and lasting peace in the Middle East.

It said that such a settlement is only possible within the framework of an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations.

The Palestinians expressed determination to carry on the uprising against Israeli occupation in order to secure the realization of their lawful national rights.

The appeal said all the Palestinians, both in occupied territories and elsewhere, consider the Palestine Liberation Organization their sole lawful representative.

The Palestinians called on the international community and first of all on the U.N. Security Council to do everything to put an end to the Israeli crackdown on the population of occupied Arab lands and achieve the fulfilment of the U.N. resolutions on the Palestinian problem.

Arab News Federation Sends Appeal to Gorbachev
*LD2005161688 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT
20 May 88*

[Text] Kuwait May 20 TASS—In connection with the upcoming Soviet-American summit meeting, Bargis al-Bargis, president of the Federation of Arab News Agencies (FANA) addressed on behalf of that regional organization an appeal to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

"The eyes of all peace-loving peoples in the world, especially in regions devastated, suffering and bleeding from continuous military conflicts", the appeal says, look with hope to the summit between the two great powers and expect that they will discuss in Moscow with a sense of responsibility borne by them the most urgent issues of the present, including the Arab-Israeli conflict and its core—the Palestinian issue. The Palestinians suffering under the yoke of the continuous occupation of their land by Israel and the daily practices of repression, torture and inhuman treatment by the occupation forces, have demonstrated strongly to the whole world that they have not given up their historical right in their land to self-determination nor have they surrendered to the Israeli aggressor. The popular uprising in the Occupied Palestinian territories baptised daily by the blood of martyrs and the brutal occupation measures to stop it have drawn the whole Middle East region into a situation of great tension and conflicts it has never witnessed over the past 40 years.

We hope that the Soviet Union, the appeal says, whom we consider a loyal friend of the Arabs and strong supporter of their just causes, would press for a solution to the Palestinian problem based on the principles agreed upon and adopted by the U.N. and international community.

By playing this role the Soviet Union would be fulfilling a major principle adopted by the Soviet socialist revolution... that is the right of all people to self-determination and freedom. These principles call for recognizing the right of the Palestinian people to have their own state and have the right for participation of the Palestine

Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians, on equal footing in any talks aimed at reaching a solution to the explosive situation in the Middle East."

The appeal expresses confidence that the Soviet Union's firm stand in support of the just resolution to the Palestinian problem would convince the U.S. to reconsider a certain change in policy that will help push forward the so far stalled peace efforts in the Middle East.

Ambassador to Jordan Holds News Conference
JN2305063288 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English
23 May 88 pp 1, 5

[By Nirmin Murad]

[Text] Amman—The conflicts of the Middle East are expected to assume a "high and prominent place" on the agenda of the May 29-June 2 superpower summit in Moscow and special emphasis will be given to the proposed Middle East peace conference, Soviet Ambassador to Jordan Aleksandr Zinchuk said Sunday.

At a press conference held at the Soviet Embassy, Zinchuk noted that the United States, which had always "adamantly" rejected the idea of an international peace conference, now accepts the proposal but Moscow and Washington remain divided on the effectiveness and authorities of such a forum. The basic change in the U.S. attitude, Zinchuk said, was a result of combined Arab efforts spearheaded by Jordan and pressure from the Soviet Union.

"The United States is now willing to accept the idea of an international peace conference, but only as a cocktail party with no authoritative power," Zinchuk said.

Zinchuk reiterated the Soviet position that the conference should be "comprehensive and effective" and based on U.N. Security Council and all concerned parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Zinchuk said the Soviet Union would not resume diplomatic ties with Israel until the Zionist state agrees to attend an effective peace conference aimed at securing Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and allowing Palestinians to exercise their legitimate rights. The conference should not be just "an umbrella for bilateral talks," he said.

Zinchuk said that while the Soviet Union insists on an "effective" peace conference, it does not call for one which would dictate or impose any solution on the parties of the conflict. The conference should allow all the parties to "express their point of view in a positive manner which would help constructive development in peace talks," he said.

Zinchuk confirmed that "there are open communication channels between the Soviet Union and Israel outside the realm of diplomatic ties and these contacts are paramount to reaching a settlement to the Middle East conflict." "Israel has become a reality... and should be pressured to take a realistic and intelligent stand towards an international peace conference," he said.

Zinchuk accused the international media and Israeli press of "intentionally distorting the Soviet image in the Arab World."

Zinchuk described the latest American peace proposal for the Middle East as "one-sided, not taking into account the different angles and needs of the issue at hand." He said that the Soviet Union was not interested in frequently sending envoys to the area with no viable solution to the conflict but would rather make "effective and positive trips which would help the different parties agree upon a route which would guarantee a peaceful settlement."

Zinchuk said the issue of Palestinian representation in peace talks was discussed by His Majesty King Husayn and the Soviet leadership during the King's December 1987 visit to Moscow. There was no point of conflict between Jordan and the Soviet Union on the essence of this issue, the ambassador said.

"Essentially, there is agreement that the PLO should attend an international peace conference on equal footing with other concerned parties," he said. "The shape of the representation will be decided by the PLO its and parties to the conflict," and could take one of three options; a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, a joint Arab delegation or a separate Palestinian delegation, the ambassador said.

Zinchuk praised King Husayn for his mediation efforts which contributed to a solution to the Afghanistan problem and Soviet withdrawal from the country.

South Yemen Accedes to Air Safety Convention
PM2405133588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 May 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A.A. 'Abd al-Ilah, ambassador of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY) in the USSR, has deposited with the USSR Government the instrument on the PDRY's accession to the convention on combating illegal acts directed against civil aviation safety of 23 September 1971.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Gorbachev Sends Message to OAU Summit
PM2505095188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 May 88 Second Edition p 1

[Cable from CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to the participants in the OAU summit in Addis Ababa; date not given: "To the Participants in the 24th Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU Member Countries"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] I cordially greet the participants in the supreme forum of African states and ardently congratulate all peoples of the continent on Africa Liberation Day and the 25th anniversary of the formation of the OAU.

The creation of your organization 25 years ago was a major event in the world political arena. The liberated states of Africa, whichever paths of socioeconomic development they have chosen, have many common concerns, and concerns of paramount importance: strengthening national independence, asserting their sovereignty and territorial integrity, wresting themselves from the clutches of want inherited from centuries-old colonial oppression. The organization has become a valuable instrument in pooling the African countries' efforts to achieve these goals. It is obvious that the cohesion of actions of the independent African states on a continent-wide and international scale does not come easily. Nonetheless, the results which the OAU now has an opportunity to sum up are convincing evidence not only of the viability but also of the effectiveness of this association which has inherited from its founders the wise motto "unity, solidarity, liberation, and development."

As 25 years ago, so today on the notable jubilee of the OAU states, the Soviet Union is on the side of the African peoples struggling for the elimination of apartheid, racism, and colonialism in the RSA and Namibia, for the overcoming of economic backwardness, for living conditions worthy of man, and for freedom and democracy. The Soviet Union is profoundly convinced that mankind should not look calmly at Africa's economic plight or tolerate the fact that Africans' hunger, poverty, and disease is for some a source of neocolonial superprofit.

The Soviet Union supports the OAU's efforts aimed at convening an international conference on the African countries' foreign debts. But liberation from the millstone of debt is only part of the complex tangle of Africa's socioeconomic problems. It is a case of transferring international economic relations to the channel of building a reliable system of economic security and a new world economic order. The Soviet Union is in favor of setting up stable and predictable cooperation on an equal and fair basis and on a world scale.

Life is showing increasingly convincingly that the disarmament process and the resultant release of large sums which are being pointlessly burnt in the furnace of the arms race could become a powerful factor of world development. In advocating the creation of a special "disarmament for development" fund, the Soviet Union believes that a special place here should be assigned for Africa.

Of course, to overcome Africa's critical economic situation it is essential to mobilize all existing resources, primarily those of the African countries themselves, including those which are now spent on military needs. The path to ensuring peace in Africa passes through the creation here of a firm regional link in an all-encompassing system of international security.

It is now extremely important to move the business of a political settlement in southern Africa from a standstill with a view to ensuring a peaceful, free life and prosperity for all peoples of this region. The efforts of the states of the Horn of Africa to create an atmosphere of peace and good-neighborliness in their region demand every support. The Chad-Libyan conflict also awaits political solution.

The Soviet Union is sure that the OAU, which is the recognized expresser of the African peoples' interests, will make a fitting contribution to the normalization of the international atmosphere and to the process of building a nuclear-free and nonviolent world in which the foundation of universal prosperity will be genuine equality and each state's unshakable right to determine freely the paths of its development.

Loyal to the Leninist principles of its foreign policy, the Soviet Union is building and will continue to build its relations with the African countries on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty, independence, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, and equal and mutually advantageous cooperation. Our socialist state has rendered and will continue to render assistance to the African countries in their economic and social development. In Africa the Soviet Union has no selfish interests of any kind, just as it has no intention of imposing its ideological or other views on anyone. We are resolutely opposed to Africa's transformation into an arena of confrontation and struggle between outside forces. In the OAU's efforts to ensure Africa a worthy place in the modern world in accordance with its peoples' historical and cultural traditions, you can count on our full solidarity and support.

I wish the participants in the OAU assembly jubilee session successful and fruitful work.

M. Gorbachev.

Proceedings Conclude

LD2505094288 Moscow TASS in English 0927 GMT
25 May 88

[Text] Addis Ababa May 25 TASS—The 48th Session of the OAU Council of Ministers which closed in Addis Ababa today welcomed the continuation of Soviet-American contacts and talks which add dynamics to disarmament process.

International detente has become really possible and developing countries should make a vigorous and equal effort to establish it in the interests of all humanity, one of the session's resolutions states.

The OAU Council of Ministers urged African countries to make their contribution to the success of a special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament.

Situation in Southern Africa, aggravated through the fault of the South African racist regime, dominated the session's political agenda. The ministers gave positive assessment to Angola's latest initiatives on a settlement in southern Africa and emphasized that the proposals brought about the beginning of four-sides talks. Angola's initiatives also urged the U.S. Administration to use its influence on the Pretoria regime and make it comply with the corresponding UN resolutions.

The session's documents point out that the United States continues military and financial support for the anti-Angolan UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] group operating under South Africa's orders.

Its resolution on Namibia stresses that armed struggle is remaining the chief means to gain independence for this unlawfully occupied territory.

The ministers welcomed the intention of the Soviet Union and the United States to resolve South West Africa's problems by way of negotiations within the framework of the UN Security Council Resolution 435 and to guarantee security and non-interference in Angola's internal affairs.

The African ministers reaffirmed their traditional support for the just cause of the Palestinian people and favoured the convocation of a Middle East peace conference with participation of all parties concerned, including PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. They urged the Soviet and American leaders to give priority attention to discussing the possibilities of settling the Middle East crisis at the forthcoming Moscow summit.

The OAU Council of Ministers reacted sharply to increasing attempts by transnationals to dump radioactive and other poisonous industrial wastes in Africa. A special resolution qualifies this practice as a crime

against African peoples and demands its halt. The resolution insists on purification of the already contaminated regions and instructs the UN Secretary General to raise this issue at a regular session of the UN General Assembly.

Other resolutions concern the current issues of political, economic and cultural cooperation among African countries.

Demichev Hosts Reception for African Diplomats

LD2505020888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 24 May 88

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Today Comrade Demichev, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, held a reception for heads of diplomatic missions of African states accredited in Moscow and delegations who have come to the Soviet Union to celebrate Africa Liberation Day and to take part in events marking solidarity week with the peoples of Southern Africa.

Adamishin Reaffirms Support for African States

LD2405173688 Moscow TASS in English 1329 GMT
24 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—"As 25 years ago, the Soviet Union continues to side with the African peoples fighting for the elimination of apartheid, racism, colonialism in South Africa and Namibia, for overcoming economic backwardness, for the conditions of life worthy of man, for freedom and democracy," Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin said here today. He took part in a press conference on the subject "The Soviet Union and African Countries in the Struggle for Peace, Cooperation and Social Progress," devoted to the 25th anniversary of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

The deputy minister expressed the conviction that the difficult economic situation of many African countries was the common concern of mankind. One should not resign oneself to the fact that hunger, poverty and diseases are still plaguing the considerable part of this vast beautiful continent. "At the same time these misfortunes become a source of neocolonialist [word indistinct] (?for) some states and transnational monopolies."

In 1987 alone, the Soviet Union, making its contribution to the implementation of the UN Programme for the Economic Recovery and Development in Africa, rendered to the countries of the region aid in various forms estimated at more than one billion roubles. Today the Soviet Union renders also gratuitous aid to African states to help them combat the natural calamity, the invasion of locusts in several countries. The Soviet Union sent 250,000 tonnes of wheat to Ethiopia, where a considerable part of the population is starving as a result of drought.

Anatoliy Adamishin stressed that the USSR supported the efforts of African states and the OAU at radically improving the economic situation in Africa, supported the proposal on convening an international conference on foreign debt of African states. "We are for reforming international economic relations, vigorously support the proposal that they should be marked by justice and equality," he said.

"The great task in this respect is the possibility of allocating funds, which will be released as a result of disarmament efforts," Anatoliy Adamishin said. "Our slogan is disarmament for development. It would do only good if the African states themselves spent less funds and resources on military confrontation with each other and could set aside more funds to meet their socio-economic needs."

The Soviet deputy foreign minister stated that the Soviet Union was resolutely opposed to turning Africa into an arena of confrontation and clashes of foreign forces."

Economic Official Urges Greater Trade
LD2405181188 Moscow TASS in English 1447 GMT
24 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—Commercial and economic relations between the Soviet Union and African countries are successfully developing: The aggregate trade turnover stood last year at about 2,100 million roubles, a Soviet deputy minister for foreign economic relations said at a press conference here today.

Vladimir Burmistrov said that the figure "could have been bigger, taking into account the scope of economic potentials in the Soviet Union and African countries, especially as there are good economic and political prerequisites for a further development of commercial and economic ties."

He said that the Soviet Union had vast opportunities for importing African goods, many of which were in inviolable demand on the Soviet market.

These include above all raw material, manufactured and tropical farming goods.

"The share of finished industrial products in Soviet imports from a number of African countries, such as Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Ethiopia and others, has been growing in the past several years," Burmistrov said.

"Opening the vast Soviet market for African goods is a good help to African states in developing their national economies," the Soviet expert said.

"The development of commercial and economic relations requires, apart from economic prerequisites, certain political assistance to the process. The Soviet side is ready to extend cooperation with African countries," Burmistrov said.

Angolan Official Rejects UNITA, Savimbi
LD2405202988 Moscow in Portuguese to Africa
1830 GMT 22 May 88

[Interview with Pedro Kivila, official at Angolan Embassy in Moscow, by correspondent Igor Potovski; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Potovski] Good evening. The recent four-party talks in London between representatives of the People's Republic of Angola, Cuba, the United States, and South Africa have especially attracted international public opinion to the process of finding a political settlement in southern Africa—specifically with regard to Angola.

The Angolan side—as we have often reported—described the results of the talks as positive. Firstly, because the talks are proof of recognition by all sides that a solution of the region's problems through war is impossible. Political settlement in Angola should be on a par with stabilization of the situation in Angola. In the opinion of the Angolan representatives, the prospects for this process are good. But how will this be reflected in the clemency policy? Will it still be the same? As is known, UNITA [Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and its leader Savimbi were not represented at the London talks. Will the situation change? What is Angola's view on this? We have Pedro Kivila, an official at the Angolan Embassy in the USSR, here.

[Kivila] During the London talks, Savimbi and UNITA were not mentioned because they do not represent anything in relation to the future of the Angolan people. It is a well-known tool of imperialism. Our country could not in any circumstances accept UNITA with Savimbi as an object of discussion. Rather we would like to make clear who UNITA'S chief is.

The political course of Jonas Savimbi, leader of the UNITA puppets, whom imperialism would like to impose on the legitimate government of the PRA as a valid (?interlocutor) in creating peace conditions in Angola with the aim of forming a so-called government of national unity: After serving Holden Roberto, former leader of FNLA [National for the Liberation Front of Angola] as foreign minister of the Angolan Revolutionary Government in exile, Jonas Savimbi also tricked the MPLA through an opportunistic alliance, [words indistinct] Savimbi looked for a way of surviving and had no (?scruples) in allying with the Portuguese colonizer who served as the armed wing of the political police PIDE-DGS [General Security Directorate]. After the Alvor accord in Portugal and during the transitional government in 1975, the Angolan traitor left the country voluntarily to serve the CIA and the South African regime.

Thus, Savimbi automatically lost the honor of being an Angolan citizen and the recognized right of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Angola in terms of electing and being elected. This perfidious treachery in

itself shows that this man and the group he leads has uprooted all nationalistic feelings. Thus, it is completely unthinkable to consider him a possible interlocutor in any [word indistinct] toward a just and honorable solution to the prevailing situation in southern Africa.

In this context, we also clarify that in our country there is no policy of national reconciliation as they have abroad. Rather, there is the policy of clemency proclaimed in 1978 by our beloved Comrade President Antonio Agostino Neto and we are satisfied with the highly positive results obtained, taking into account the fact that thousands of Angolans who were tricked by foreign powers or who for various reasons were outside the national territory are returning to the motherland without preconditions. I stress, without preconditions. Among them are civilian cadres, soldiers of the former FNI and UNITA, and others who are now taking part in national reconstruction.

[Potovskiy] And as for Savimbi, could he rely on a special status?

[Kivila] The door is open to all belonging to UNITA who want to return home, and it is also open to Savimbi as a man and as a citizen if he has the courage to return to Angola to answer for his crimes. The door is also open to him, but we cannot consider him to be a valid element. [words indistinct]

East Europe

Hungarian Leaders Return Gorbachev Greetings

Grosz Message

PM2505103188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 May 88 Second Edition p 1

[Message from MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz to M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary; date not given]

[Text] Dear Comrade Gorbachev!

I sincerely thank you for your good wishes and warm words of comradely greeting to me in connection with my election as MSZMP general secretary.

The MSZMP expresses the firm resolve, on the basis of its historical experience and the Hungarian people's knowledge and labor, to strengthen people's power, deepen democracy, implement its leading role in practice, continue reforms, and ensure the effective management of the economy, thus opening the way to the renewal and further development of socialism.

The growth of our forces is promoted by the processes of revolutionary restructuring in the Soviet Union. I wish you Soviet Communists successes and a great deal of strength and energy in its successful promotion.

We are sure the internationalist relations between the MSZMP and the CPSU and our friendship and cooperation based on mutual trust and understanding will continue to successfully serve the development of Hungary and the Soviet Union at the present stage in the service of the cause of peace and socialism.

With comradely greetings,

Karoly Grosz.

Kadar Expresses Thanks

PM2505101788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 May 88 Second Edition p 1

[Message from MSZMP President Janos Kadar to M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary; date not given]

[Text] Dear Comrade Gorbachev!

I cordially thank you for your kind wishes and friendly greetings on my election as MSZMP president. I highly assess the warm words you conveyed on behalf of Soviet Communists.

The MSZMP is working to improve and renew socialism and to develop Hungarian society and the country's national economy. We will continue to rely on the international cooperation of the MSZMP and the CPSU and to strengthen friendship and collaboration between our countries and peoples.

I take this opportunity to wish you, the CPSU leadership, and all Soviet Communists additional successes in resolving the historic tasks facing you and in the successful continuation of restructuring and democratization.

With comradely greetings,

Janos Kadar.

Kadar Delivers Speech at MSZMP Conference

PM2405094588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 May 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Opening of the MSZMP Party Conference"]

[Text] Budapest, 20 May—The Hungarian national party conference opened today in the Construction Workers Union Palace in Budapest. Approximately 900 delegates and members of the MSZMP Central Committee and the Central Control Committee are taking part in its work. More than 150 guests have been invited to the forum. They include representatives of mass and public organizations and prominent scientific and cultural figures. MSZMP General Secretary J. Kadar spoke at the conference.

It has become a tradition in our party, he said, to examine at an enlarged Central Committee plenum the fulfillment of congress decisions and accumulated experience in the period between two congresses, at the midpoint of the 5-year plan. The convening of a party conference was dictated by the situation prevailing after the 13th MSZMP Congress. Thinking and acting with a sense of responsibility, a Marxist-Leninist party must rigorously evaluate the situation in light of the facts. During the first 2 years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, production of gross national product, industrial output, and agricultural output rose by 4.9, 5.8, and 0.8 percent respectively. In 1987 funds earmarked for capital investment were 9.4 percent up on 1985. In 2 years real per capita income has risen by 2.4 percent and the real wage of workers and employees calculated per employed person [iz rascheta na odnogo zanyatogo] has risen by 1.3 percent. In 1986 the state budget deficit totaled 46.9 billion forints and in 1987 this indicator was 35 billion forints. The total debt in convertible currency has risen to \$18 billion and the net debt to \$10.9 billion.

Along with development indicators we must also take into consideration the fact that no qualitative changes in the Hungarian economy have ensued. The process of improving the production structure is being carried out unevenly, and external and internal financial equilibrium have been disrupted. This resulted in the absence of conditions not only for appreciably improving living standards but even for fully maintaining them.

All this indicates that the assessment of the situation made by the 13th party congress and the targets it outlined in the sphere of economic development and living standards were insufficiently well-founded and that their fulfillment has lagged behind the demands that were made. Having acknowledged this fact, the Central Committee elaborated and adopted last July a decision regarding a socioeconomic development program and the government then submitted a 3-year economic stabilization program for examination by the National Assembly in September; the program was adopted.

The change in the economic situation is naturally affecting the country's social and political life. Discontent has arisen in connection with the halting of the rate of socioeconomic development typical of the past few years. The number of people who see their future in an uncertain light has risen owing to the current difficulties. In the changed conditions the system of political institutions is not equal to its tasks and there are malfunctions in the way it operates. Morale in society has deteriorated and trust in the party and its leaders has declined.

The MSZMP general secretary assessed positively the preparations for the party forum and the discussion of the conference's draft resolution. During the discussion of the draft, he pointed out, several hundred thousand speeches were heard and as many proposals were sent to the MSZMP Central Committee, which made wide use

of them. On behalf of the MSZMP, J. Kadar thanked everyone who expressed an opinion or made a proposal on the draft resolution and contributed to the preparations for the conference.

The party conference, J. Kadar continued, must above all paint a clear and lucid picture of the main direction of our future path. The MSZMP is struggling to achieve the historic aims of the working class and to build a socialist society. The point of departure and aim of all its decisions, the point and essence of all its activity is the fruitful continuation of the building of a socialist society in Hungary. This is also the fundamental political basis of our alliance policy. Proceeding from this premise, we cannot allow uncertainty to remain within the party on this question. We accept and support any proposals which help the cause of socialism, whoever originates them. We are also prepared to compromise if it will help achieve our socialist aims. We oppose with equal determination any attempts to undermine the foundations of our socialist system. The party resolutely opposes any attempt to weaken the people's power and sternly condemns abuses of this power in any form.

Nowadays the requirements of socialist development make it necessary to devote particular attention to the development of the system of political institutions. In view of this the party produced an initiative several years ago for implementing an all-embracing reform of our political system. It is the task of the party conference to elaborate its stance and clarify the position on several important political issues which are at the center of discussion.

The all-embracing reform of our system of political institutions aims to strengthen the people's power and the socialist system. I propose that the party conference support most effectively any reform serving this purpose and reject any attempt tending toward bourgeois democracy and anarchy or containing utopian ideas that fail to take into account the socialist reality of today's Hungary.

I also propose that the party conference confirm we want more socialism and therefore more democracy. Broader democracy is impossible without greater responsibility.

During the long historical period of building socialism, the Marxist-Leninist party's leading role is necessary. Therefore I propose that the party conference adopt a decision whereby renewal of the work of the party itself and also more precise allocation of tasks between party and state organs and public organizations are the central issue in the reform of the system of political institutions. Independence and responsibility must be enhanced and there must be more active work by the National Assembly, the government, ministries, councils, and local economic organs, enterprises, and establishments. The party

implements this principle regarding various organs representing interest groups: trade unions, the Hungarian Communist Youth League, cooperative organs, the Chamber of Commerce, and other related establishments.

The following must be said in connection with organs representing interest groups: Since Hungary lacks any real basis for creating parties in opposition to the MSZMP, the forces endeavoring to dismantle the socialist system try to exploit these organs representing interest groups for their own ends. The party condemns actions aimed at undermining the unity of the trade union and youth movements.

Socialist building, which accords with the interests of the people and the country, needs alliance, cohesion, and cooperation among classes and strata—workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, and also party members and nonparty people adhering to different ideologies—which are increasingly drawing closer together in the course of development. From this viewpoint the Patriotic People's Front movement is entrusted with a particularly important role.

The MSZMP's level of organization can be considered high. The total number of party members exceeds 800,000, which amounts to more than 10 percent of the adult population. During the exchange of party cards the number of party members fell by 45,000. Some of them explained their departure by the most varied reasons of a personal nature, and others were removed from the party.

Our party, which originated as a party of the working class, has gradually become the party of all working people and the ideological and political leading force in Hungarian society in the period since the victory of the socialist revolution. It is guided in its activity by the ideas of scientific socialism, the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and functions as an organized force based on the principles of democratic centralism.

In the interests of most fully performing its historical mission, the MSZMP is ready for a renewal in line with the requirements of the present situation both in internal party life and also in its public activity. It has resolutely embarked on the path of reform and democratization. It intends to function in the future primarily as a political party, considering its main task to be to build a socialist society and serve the people's interests, and the main means of implementing its position to be ideological and political persuasion.

A necessary condition for achieving our goals is the rectification [uporyadocheniye] of party ranks, the strengthening of their unity, and the improvement of party work. The party plays a determining role in the system of our political institutions and its effectiveness and the fruitfulness of its work are the main guarantee of socialist development.

In accordance with internal procedure the Central Committee must have the decisive say within the MSZMP on essential political issues. Therefore the proposal that the Central Committee hold plenums as necessary and if necessary devote more time more often to examining various opinions deserves attention.

In the draft resolution the Central Committee has endeavored to ensure that the restructuring of internal party life helped to strengthen and give expression to the basic values and organizational principles of the Communist movement. We also intend, by means of the proposed changes, to improve conditions for the constant work necessary in the interests of reinforcing the party's ideological, political, and organizational cohesion and unity of action. The creation of factions within the party is inadmissible.

The Central Committee firmly supported socialist democracy, self-management, and citizens' initiatives, advocated the broadening of public glasnost, and proposes that the party conference affirm this.

We also need to reckon with the fact that the broadening potential of democracy and glasnost are being exploited and, what is more, abused by those who disagree with the main direction of our policy and even with the existing social system. When such manifestations crop up in the realm of opinion they must be opposed via debate and political struggle. However, we shall continue to be intolerant of political organizational activity and hostile aspirations detrimental to the constitutional order and socialist legality. We do not intend to increase the number of our enemies by name-calling. However, we do have a right to expect and demand that each citizen observe our laws in the interests of defending the constitutional system.

There are also people who feel a sense of alarm. They ask the following question: Will the party really be able to exercise a leading role when it works in a new way? We are sure that it will be able to if we also heighten demands in political life and if the Central Committee, middle-level leading organs, every organization, and every ordinary party member works toward this.

Labor is the basis of society's life. The creation of conditions for effective economic work while preserving the humane characteristics of socialist society is the main question of development. We have a development program and a stabilization program that have been elevated to the status of law. The initial results of the efforts made are already emerging. Last year industrial production and national income budged from standstill and showed an increase. In the 1st quarter of this year a foreign trade balance was achieved for the first time in a long while. These are good signs, however, the requisite turnaround has still not ensued.

The MSZMP general secretary dwelt on key questions of economic work. In the upcoming period, he pointed out, unprofitable production must be curtailed and the funds allocated for capital investment purposes and the work force placed at the disposal of profitable enterprises. The right to work is preserved and this means that we must concern ourselves with the organized resolution of the problems of people who will have to be retrained and who are temporarily left without employment.

The draft law on economic associations particularly stands out among the measures in the elaboration stage. The law on economic associations that is being developed retains the determining role of state and cooperative property but also takes into consideration the fact that private property will also exist in limited dimensions during the lengthy stage of building a socialist society. Therefore it seems advisable to integrate private property into the country's economic life within the framework of the law. Economic modernization and structural restructuring prompt us to enlist foreign capital from both socialist and capitalist countries, also within the framework of existing laws and with the appropriate regulation. By regulating the forms of associations, the law can facilitate the movement of capital into profitable sectors of the national economy, thus helping to fulfill the development program. The socialist system is the guarantee against the revival in Hungary of domination by exploitive classes.

J. Kadar indicated the importance of further developing scientific research and the role of cultural personnel in disseminating socialist and humanist ideas.

J. Kadar noted that the results of the Hungarian people's labor largely depend on the development of international politics and on the formation of international relations. At present, he said, Hungary enjoys a good reputation abroad. This is based on the results that have been achieved, on the practical steps to renew socialist practice, and, naturally, on Hungarian international activity.

We are witnessing the renewal of socialism. The entire world socialist system has reached a new, higher level of development. The processes of renewal initiated in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are of tremendous significance since they are characterized above all by glasnost and consideration of the actual real situation, which is a paramount condition for resolving tasks. For us Hungarian Communists, this illustrates above all that we are advancing in the mainstream of socialist development. The processes of reform under way in Hungary are an organic part of the development of socialism.

Thanks to the initiatives of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, the international situation has changed for the better. We welcome the Soviet-U.S. talks, the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles signed in Washington, and the talks on 50-percent reductions in strategic offensive arms.

The next Soviet-U.S. summit meeting will take place in Moscow in the near future. The Hungarian people, along with all the planet's peace-loving forces, believe that the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States, who greatly influence the shaping of mankind's destiny, will be able to take a step forward along the path initiated and achieve reciprocal identical security at a lower level of armaments and ensure peace, which is the most important external condition for our people's constructive labor.

I am convinced that the party conference will successfully fulfill its task. At present party unity, national cohesion, a firm policy, and exemplary labor are necessary.

The experience of history shows that the party has resolved together with the people more complex tasks in graver situations than today. We have sufficient strength to resolve the tasks facing the country and advance along the path of socialism, the MSZMP general secretary stressed in conclusion.

Levin on Restructuring, Polish Price Reform

*LD2405204388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1700 GMT 24 May 88*

[Excerpts] Commentator Viktor Levin has just returned from a trip to Poland. He went there at the request of our editorial office, and now, with his participation in this program, we are resuming our past column: "A Correspondent Has Returned From His Mission." If you please, Viktor Nikolayevich:

[Levin] In recalling the main things which were characteristic for my discussions with Polish friends, I wish to single out two topics. These are the restructuring in the Soviet Union, and the prices in Poland. These problems were invariably touched upon in the discussions, and I would like to talk about them today.

Let me start with restructuring. There were a great many questions regarding what is being done in the Soviet Union, despite the fact that Polish radio, television, and newspapers give this a most prominent place. People wanted to know the particulars and details. People compared what is being implemented in the Soviet Union with the measures in Poland itself, and with their hopes. I will hardly say anything new if I say that the internal political situation in Poland is far from simple. On the surface all is absolutely calm. [passage omitted]

However, it appeared to me that the strikes held at the end of April and at the beginning of May at a number of enterprises did not pass without consequences. People are worried that a wage hike is under way again, although there are no economic grounds for it, and inflation is rising as a result. At the same time the understanding of the need for economic reform, as well as the purposefulness of this reform by the broadest circles of society evokes no doubt in my view. There are not many slogans

in Poland, and from those I saw, one sticks in my memory: Poland is our homeland; socialism is our system. I will not claim that all 100 percent of the citizens of the Polish People's Republic maintain this stance, but there are no grounds to doubt that the majority think like this.

This is why the restructuring in the Soviet Union is perceived as a reaffirmation of the vitality of the principles of socialism, and also as an experience with a useful application. It was confirmed in my discussions with my Polish friends on more than one occasion that nobody is now questioning copying the experience. On the contrary, it would be incorrect. The common thing which is distinctive for the socialist system—the innovative approach to tackling complex problems, which is a CPSU characteristic—may also represent a great interest for other socialist states. One night I heard on the local radio a popular song by one of the leading Polish variety performers: It expressed a wish to Mikhail Gorbachev to successfully carry out the process of restructuring. This is, of course, a feature, but a significant feature, it seems to me.

Now the prices. I have already recalled that the inflation processes very much worry our friends. These processes are so apparent that they stare you in the face. At first glance the shop windows make a striking impression. The range of food stuffs is very broad, but it is worth looking at the price tags: It soon becomes clear that prosperity is far away. [passage omitted]

It is clear that prices—and if one is to speak in a wider context—the standard of living, do not simply worry the Polish people; it alarms them. This questions remains acute, it appears to me. [passage omitted]

SFRY's Orlandic on 'Fruitful' Gorbachev Visit
LD2405212088 Moscow TASS in English 1457 GMT
24 May 88

[Text] Belgrade May 24 TASS—An official friendly visit by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev to Yugoslavia has become an event of exceptional importance in relations between the Soviet Union and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the event that has attracted much attention of the political circles, the media and public of the whole world. This is said in an article by member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Marko Orlandic, published in the latest issue of the Yugoslav weekly "KOMUNIST".

Dwelling on historic problems of relations between the two countries, the author notes that following the signing of the known Soviet-Yugoslav documents in Belgrade and in Moscow in 1955 and 1956, there has been cyclic development of relations, but they were characterised at times by stagnation, recession and even outright confrontation.

A qualitatively new stage in the development of Soviet society opened with Mikhail Gorbachev's election as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the article says. A process has been started that will have large and positive consequences not only in the domestic sphere, but also on the international scene, and, thus, in the area of relations between the two countries.

The visit by the Soviet leader has been well prepared by both sides, Marko Orlandic noted. "It can be said that our expectations have been justified in virtually everything. A wide range of topical questions of bilateral relations as well as international problems having a bearing, specifically, on the situation in Europe and in the Mediterranean, were discussed during the talks at the collective Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and also during other meetings in Belgrade, Ljubljana and Kupari."

"The talks proceeded in a new, positive atmosphere. The Soviet leader familiarized the Yugoslav side in detail with the essence of the changes and further activity as regards democratisation of the economic and political system, the entire public life in the Soviet Union. These changes will apparently put increasingly in the order of the day other important factors of internal development, above all, the place and role of the CPSU, its need to get rid of so-called command methods and the consolidation of its vanguard—ideological and political influence in Soviet society."

"In their turn Soviet friends, and not they alone, show interest in the place and role of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the political system of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Good and bad aspects are, naturally, attentively analyzed, as well as the inconsistency that we show in implementing the programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia," Marko Orlandic noted.

"The Soviet-Yugoslav declaration is the most important result of Mikhail Gorbachev's very fruitful visit to Yugoslavia. By its contents it goes far beyond the limits of bilateral relations and is of broad international importance. The principles of relations registered in the Belgrade Declaration and the Moscow Statement, as well as the obligations of the two countries to persistently implement them in their relations have been firmly and consistently reasserted. This created the foundations for a long-term development of all-round, mutually-advantageous and stable cooperation."

"The declaration consolidates Yugoslavia's independent and nonaligned international course, as well as the Soviet Union's new policy in internal and international spheres. The talks confirmed mutual interest in the continuation of a regular political dialogue, also at the summit level, in the democratic exchange of opinions between the CPSU and the LCY on theoretical and

practical questions of the development of socialism in both countries, on the questions of the development of socialism as a world process. Democratic principles in relations and cooperation of progressive and democratic parties and movements, respect for different roads of socialist construction and non-recognition of any one's monopoly to truth have been emphasized. With consistent implementation of these principles in practice, this will, naturally, help ensure that the known conflicts become things of the past, that mutual confidence and all-round mutually advantageous cooperation be strengthened," the author notes.

TASS, Prague's CTK Sign Cooperation Protocol
PM2405132788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 May 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A protocol on the development of cooperation between TASS and CTK was signed in Prague 23 on May by A.A. Krasikov, deputy general director of TASS, and by D. Lustig, first deputy general director of CTK.

West Europe

Switzerland Expels Soviet Diplomat for Spying
AU2505082488 Paris AFP in English 0735 GMT
25 May 88

[Text] Bern, May 25 (AFP)—A Soviet diplomat has been expelled for spying, a Swiss Government spokesman said Wednesday.

The diplomat, a member of the Soviet State Committee for Science and Technology, had been gathering information on high-tech arms and aeronautics industries, he said. He declined to name the diplomat.

Other members of the Soviet State Committee had been expelled for the same motives in 1986 and 1987, he added.

He said the diplomat had been warned but had continued his activities. A protest has been lodged with the Soviet Embassy here in Switzerland's capital.

Gorbachev Receives Swiss Literary Prize
LD2105013388 Moscow TASS in English 1316 GMT
20 May 88

[Text] Bern May 20 TASS—A literary prize has been awarded to General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev by the foundation financed by the Basel book trading firm Eggy. The prize was awarded to the Soviet leader for his book "Perestroika and the New Thinking for Our Country and the Whole World", which firmly held first place during a year on the list of bestsellers in Switzerland. The literary

prize is bound to promote development of the East-West dialogue, the firm says in its statement. Mikhail Gorbachev reaffirmed the global significance of books as a means of communication.

Negotiator Briefs Swiss Official on Arms Talks
LD2405215288 Moscow TASS in English 2007 GMT
24 May 88

[Text] Bern May 24 TASS—Soviet chief negotiator at Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms in Geneva, Aleksey Obukhov, met here today with State Secretary of Switzerland's Federal Department of Foreign Affairs Edouard Brunner.

During a conversation in which USSR Ambassador to Switzerland Zoya Novozhilova took part, the Soviet representative informed the Swiss side of the results of the recent meeting in Geneva between USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

There was also an exchange of opinions on problems of arms limitation and reduction, above all of nuclear arms, and on prospects for the creation of a comprehensive system of international security.

Kolchanov on FRG-French Military Cooperation
LD2205221688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1830 GMT 22 May 88

[Commentary by international affairs journalist Rudolf Kolchanov]

[Text] The West German press has been drawing attention to a growing number of facts that point to an increase in military cooperation between France and the FRG. Here is a commentary by international affairs journalist Rudolf Kolchanov:

[Kolchanov] Last January, the French president and the West German chancellor signed a protocol on setting up a joint defense and security council. Military and political cooperation between the FRG and France has, therefore, entered a remarkable stage. Apart from everything else, the document calls for the creation of a Franco-West German brigade. It is initially to have 4,000 soldiers and officers, but the intentions of the parties are clearly not limited to that combat side alone.

In his government statement, FRG Chancellor Kohl stated that the brigade should by no means be regarded as a mere symbol and that it is an efficient and modified contribution to our collective defense. At the same time, this brigade, he went on to say, could lead to other units.

In one of his interviews, Mitterrand, too, did not exclude the possibility of setting up a joint naval unit. It is not difficult to observe the trend of passing from military cooperation to military integration, and that leads to a

whole number of serious questions. One of them is: What role is being given to French nuclear forces in this integration, and what is the FRG's place in the French nuclear deterrent strategy?

For the time being, the thesis of direct nuclear cooperation by the FRG and France is not—or in any case, not overtly—used by the Bonn government. But the rightist politicians of the CDU-CSU [Christian Democratic Union-Christian Social Union] bloc do not rule out that form of cooperation, and who can guarantee that those rightist forces will not, at some stage, gain decisive political influence in Bonn?

In principle, official Bonn received positively both the conclusion of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and the idea of a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive armaments. The Federal Government has made a certain contribution toward eliminating obstacles during the preparation of the INF Treaty, which was appreciated both by the USSR and the United States, and first and foremost, by the broad masses of the European people.

Why should the ruling coalition not heed the appeal of Albrecht Mueller, a Bundestag deputy from the Social Democratic Party, to stop saber-rattling? Such actions, he said in an interview to the DDP news agency, are not in line with West German interests and undermine the disarmament process. While paying due attention to the spirit of the times and taking into account national interests, Bonn should have, according to all rules of political logic, consistently acted in that direction instead of creating hindrances in the way of disarmament and detente.

AUCCTU's Yanayev Receives Italian Delegation
PM2305091788 Moscow TRUD in Russian
19 May 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Meeting at the AUCCTU"]

[Text] On 18 May, AUCCTU Secretary G.I. Yanayev met with a delegation from the Italian General Confederation of Labor, headed by its secretary, E. Guarino. The group is currently visiting Moscow.

During their conversation, the participants exchanged information on the activity of Soviet and Italian trade unions and discussed topical questions concerning international and Soviet-Italian trade union cooperation. The meeting was held in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

Dobrynin Meets With Cypriot AKEL Party Leaders
LD2105222688 Moscow TASS in English 2045 GMT
21 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 22 TASS—Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, met here with a delegation of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus

(AKEL) which included Dhimitrios Khristofias, secretary general of the AKEL Central Committee, and Donis Khristofinis, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the AKEL Central Committee.

During the meeting, the sides discussed issues related to disarmament, the elimination of nuclear weapons, and efforts to ensure international security, said a joint Soviet-Cyprus communique of the CPSU And AKEL representatives, issued today.

Both sides believe that the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles in December 1987 was a major success of peace forces of the whole of mankind and an achievement of the new political thinking and peace initiatives of the Soviet Union.

The signing of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan was an important contribution to a political settlement of existing regional conflicts, the communique said.

The sides voiced their concern over the persistence of an explosive situation in the Middle East. They emphasised in this context the importance of convening an international conference on the Middle East.

Making the Mediterranean a zone of security and cooperation would promote the common cause of peace and international detente.

New Soviet initiatives, advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev in Belgrade in March 1988, meet the interests of all Mediterranean nations, including Cyprus.

The AKEL representatives informed the Soviet side about their party's activities at the current stage of struggle against the unceasing interference of NATO countries in internal affairs of Cyprus and against the continued occupation of the northern part of the island by Turkish troops.

They expressed their deep gratitude to the CPSU for its consistent support for these efforts.

The CPSU delegation reiterated the invariable stand of the Soviet Union coming out in support of the rights and interests of the Republic of Cyprus and its population, and favouring an invigorated search for ways to settle the Cyprus problem.

The holding of a representative international conference within U.N. framework could be an important factor in such a settlement.

Communique Issued

NC2105173888 Nicosia Domestic Service in Greek
1630 GMT 21 May 88

[Text] The Soviet Union has confirmed its irrevocable stand in favor of the rights and interests of the Republic of Cyprus and its citizens, and in favor of activating efforts to find ways of settling the Cyprus problem. This is included in a joint communique released after a meeting between AKEL Secretary General Dhimitrios Khristofias and CPSU Central Committee Secretary Anatoliy Dobrynin in Moscow.

The communique stresses that the convening of a representative international conference within the UN framework could constitute a significant factor for a settlement of the Cyprus issue. It is also noted that both parties will continue to struggle for the further development of multifaceted cooperation between Cyprus and the Soviet Union, and will work to strengthen the friendship between the two peoples.

The communique adds that the two sides agreed to further expand their relations and approved a plan for interparty exchanges.

During their visit, the members of the AKEL delegation had an opportunity to familiarize themselves with implementation of the revolutionary restructuring in the Soviet Union.

Briefs

Soviet-Turkish Committee

Moscow May 24 TASS—A Soviet-Turkish committee for business cooperation was set up at a constituent meeting here today to develop economic, scientific, technical and commercial relations between the USSR and Turkey. Nikolay Melnikov, vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry, was elected chairman. The committee was sponsored by 35 Soviet foreign trade organizations, including the republican associations of Armenia, Georgia, Moldavia and the Ukraine. [Excerpt] [LD2505005688 Moscow TASS in English 1359 GMT 24 May 88]

Latin America & Caribbean

Nicaragua's Ortega on Military Operations, Talks
LD2405210888 Moscow TASS in English 1132 GMT
24 May 88

[Text] Managua May 24 TASS—The Nicaraguan Government has decided unilaterally to keep refraining from offensive military operations for another month after June 1, President Daniel Ortega told a news conference in Managua Monday.

He described the decision as a striking illustration of his country's desire for an enduring peace and for an end to bloodletting and to escalating aggression.

But Nicaragua, Ortega added, reserves the right to direct all its military power to rout the armed counter-revolutionary groups that will choose to continue their subversive activities and acts of terrorism against Nicaraguan civilians after the temporary truce.

The Nicaraguan leader voiced the hope that contra chieftains will accept the government's proposal for another round of ceasefire talks in Managua in the interest of the entire nation.

Talks Limited to Managua

LD2505092388 Moscow TASS in English 0858 GMT
25 May 88

[Text] Managua May 25 TASS—Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega has confirmed the intention of the Sandinist government to continue talks with the contra leaders only in Managua, as provided by the Sapoa agreements.

Ortega told journalists that a government delegation would not go to Sapoa where the contras wanted to stage another political show and accuse the national leadership of thwarting the settlement.

We hope that the contras will come to Managua, Ortega said.

The president pointed out that a two-month temporary ceasefire had helped to avoid senseless bloodshed and deaths of hundreds of Nicaraguan civilians who could devote themselves to work and consolidation of the revolutionary process.

Touching upon CIA's plan to destabilize the situation in Nicaragua through internal reactionary forces, Ortega emphasized that the U.S. Administration had long been pursuing interventionist policy towards Nicaragua, and not only in the military but also the political sphere.

With this aim, Washington is financing the internal opposition and launches campaigns of lie, slander and misinformation against the Sandinista government through the mass media, political parties and reactionary clergymen.

Ortega condemned CIA's attempts to use Nicaragua's internal opposition for heightening tensions in the country and thwarting the government-launched course towards national reconciliation with all political forces.

Castro Meets With Interior Minister Vlasov

*FL2005135188 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network
in Spanish 1100 GMT 20 May 88*

[Text] Commander in Chief Fidel Castro has met with Colonel General Aleksandr Vlasov, Soviet internal affairs minister.

Vlasov is heading a Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs delegation visiting Cuba. As part of his visit, the Soviet and Cuban Interior Ministries signed a cooperation agreement.

Fidel and Col Gen Vlasov discussed topics related to the current international situation and the existing ties of friendship between the USSR and Cuba.

Political & Social

More on USSR Supreme Soviet Ninth Session

Commissions Debate Housing

PM2405141588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 May 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "In the Run-up to the USSR Supreme Soviet Session"]

[Text] Sessions of USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities Standing Commissions have been held in Moscow in the run-up to the next USSR Supreme Soviet session.

The work of soviet and economic organs in ensuring the fulfillment of the housing, cultural, and consumer construction program in the light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress was analyzed 20 May by the Construction and Construction Materials Industry Commissions and the Communal Housing and Municipal Economy Commissions at a joint session.

In preparing this question, which will be discussed at the session, the deputies familiarized themselves with the state of affairs locally and attentively examined the materials and proposals submitted by union republic Supreme Soviet presidiums, individual deputies, and a number of ministries, departments, and public organizations.

The reports by Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and V.V. Bakatin, leader of the joint deputies' preparatory commission, noted that soviets have recently started to implement more actively and fully their powers in leading the development of the social sphere. In many union republics these questions have been examined at Supreme Soviet sessions. Management organs have noticeably stepped up their attention to them. The measures taken by soviet and economic organs and the enhancement of the activeness of labor collectives have ensured a definite turn for the better in the construction of housing and sociocultural projects.

At the same time, the session stressed that development rates in the social sphere do not yet accord with the task set by the 27th CPSU Congress of providing virtually every Soviet family with their own apartment or house by the year 2000, nor with the comprehensive development of the material base of the sociocultural sphere and municipal services. The construction of housing and sociocultural projects continues to be erratic in 1988, which is having a detrimental effect on the fulfillment of targets for their timely commissioning and on construction quality.

For a long time the bulk of housing construction has been carried out using state funds, while proper attention has not been devoted to the development of individual

and cooperative construction. The architectural and artistic standard of the buildings, structures, and their complexes in mass housing and sociocultural construction is poor. The fallacious practice of commissioning projects and structures with major work left incomplete and exhibiting poor quality construction and installation work continues.

On the basis of the discussion which took place the commissions approved materials which will be submitted for the USSR Supreme Soviet's examination.

A joint session of the legislative proposals commissions was held the same day.

A report was heard from I.S. Gustov, leader of a deputies' subcommission, on the results of familiarization with the work of the USSR Supreme Court and on the commissions' coreport at the 9th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which provided an account of the activity of the USSR Supreme Court.

A.I. Iyevlev, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom; and N.A. Mitkin, leader of a deputies' subcommission, delivered reports on the progress of work within the USSR Gosagroprom on bringing departmental normative acts into line with the USSR Law "On the State Enterprise (Association)."

Furthermore, the commissions examined and placed on record information about the progress in fulfilling the commissions' decision of 20 April 1987 "On the Practice of the Application of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree 'On Stepping Up the Struggle against Unearned Income' in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR."

Taking part in the commissions' sessions were P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the leaders of a number of USSR ministries and departments.

Council of Elders Examines Agenda

LD2405010088 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 1700 GMT 23 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In the Kremlin today, at a session of the Council of Elders of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet questions regarding the agenda and order of work of the session were examined. The session was addressed by Comrade Razumovskiy; Comrade Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities; and Comrade Paton, deputy chairman of the Soviet of Union. Comrade Demichev took part in the session.

Ryzhkov Promotes Cooperatives

PM2405151588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 May 88 Second Edition pp 1-4

[Speech by Nikolay I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the Ninth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, in the Kremlin on 24 May, under the headline: "On the Role of the Cooperative System in Developing the Country's Economy and the Draft Law on the Cooperative System in the USSR. Report by Deputy N.I. Ryzhkov, Member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] Comrade deputies! The USSR Supreme Soviet is to discuss a matter of enormous social and political significance, and review the major principled debate which has taken place in the country on the role and place of cooperatives in the development of the socialist economy and in the deepening of those revolutionary transformations in the life of society which were begun by the party in April 1985. At the present time, as we approach the 19th party conference, the progressive nature of the changes taking place in the country is felt with particular poignancy, radical economic reform is gaining momentum, and democracy and glasnost are winning new positions. Now another major step along the road of restructuring is to be taken, and broad scope is to be opened up for the utmost development of the cooperative movement, with its truly gigantic possibilities and significance in socialist construction.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech to the Fourth All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers, on the basis of an analysis of Lenin's doctrine on cooperatives, clearly expresses one of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's key ideas that the growth of cooperatives is identical with the growth of socialism. And it has been convincingly proven that the cooperative movement as applied to modern conditions is an effective means, a powerful accelerator for achieving the noble aims facing our society. Today, it is the link in the massive creative work of the party and state which to a great extent predetermines the success of resolving the main task—the fullest satisfaction of the growing needs of Soviet people.

The essential political, economic, and social prerequisites have now been created for developing the cooperative movement in the country and for converting it into a phenomenon of really mass scale. These prerequisites are brought about by the fact that new processes are being engendered more and more actively and are becoming irreversible in the life of society; democratization is becoming a reality, glasnost a norm of behavior, and man the master of his own affairs. Cooperatives—a democratic form of socially organizing production and labor—is called upon to play an important role in the further deepening of these revolutionary changes.

The draft law on cooperatives, which has been submitted for examination by the supreme organ of the Soviet state, was born of restructuring and is called upon to work for restructuring. A new approach in economic policy, at the basis of which is Lenin's doctrine—eternally alive in its development—on socialism and its inexhaustible creative forces, had found legislative embodiment in the draft law. The significance of the draft law for the present and future of our society is enormous. This is borne out by the results of the nationwide discussion. It has shown that the draft reflects the interests of millions of people, and has been actively perceived by the working people—kolkhozniks, other cooperative workers, blue and white collar workers, scientists, specialists and economic leaders. All strata of the population ardently supported the active thrust of this document toward the acceleration of restructuring, primarily because the new law expresses and takes under its wing the core of the cooperative system—its democratic nature. The social potential of the document is great. In its essence the law is directly addressed to the man of labor, to his interests, and consequently meets and promotes the assertion of the very foundation of socialism.

In the course of discussion of the draft, numerous proposals and observations were voiced which have tendered inestimable aid to the subsequent refinement of the document. Not one of the proposals and observations received was left without attention. Permit me to express deep gratitude to all citizens who took part in discussion of the draft law. Forty-two articles out of 50 were subjected to some sort of amendments and additions. Deputies have the refined draft law.

I shall dwell on the most fundamental matters relating to the development of the cooperative movement in the country.

1. Implementation of Lenin's Ideas on the Cooperative System is a Powerful Accelerator of Restructuring [sub-head]

Comrades, the party's strategic course toward restructuring will provide social life with dynamism and noticeably improve the well-being of every family and every Soviet man only if an increase in production potential and close interaction between the state and cooperative sectors of the economy are actually guaranteed. In order to assess fully the role of cooperatives and the objective need to place their enormous possibilities at the service of people as quickly as possible, the situation which has taken shape in our national economy must be thought through again and again.

I shall begin with the main point. In spite of all the difficulties, over the time that has passed since the CPSU Central Committee April 1985 Plenum, it has proved possible to lift the economy out of a precrisis condition.

Positive changes are increasing, and there is every reason to consider that the slowing pace of production growth, which had been occurring over a prolonged period of time, has in the main been overcome. Another point is of no less importance. Progressive phenomena are increasing more and more in the national economy, healthy forces are accumulating, which are determining a qualitatively different aspect for our economy. In the sustained struggle with the old, new economic thinking and economic method of management are persistently carving themselves a path. The ability to work creatively and with initiative, and to develop production on the basis of its intensification is being brought to the fore. The collectives of enterprises are motivated to conduct their work in this way by their growing independence, financial autonomy, and self-financing. This is already bearing fruit. The pace of efficiency in public-sector production has risen noticeably. Raising labor productivity is now the only factor from which we obtained the entire increment in the national income, and also in the output of industry and agriculture and in the volumes of work in the construction and transport sectors. This is a true testimony to the transition of the economy to an intensive path of development. For the first time, labor resources have begun to be really freed from material production and supplement the nonproductive sphere.

Of course, the cost mechanism which has been prevalent in industry for many years is still far from overcome. But it is important that pressure upon it is increasing. Ability to achieve high final results while incurring minimal expenditure is coming to the fore and has become one of the most characteristic changes in the management system. This can be traced through the dynamics of change in such a highly important index as production cost. In the first 2 years of the 5-year plan alone in industry, for example, it has fallen more considerably than in the whole of the preceding 5-year plan. The new quality of growth is indicated by the renewal in machine-building output. Its rate has increased threefold. All of this is, of course, only the first results of efforts to restructure the economy.

In time, long-term, strategic measures too will begin to have increasingly tangible results: acceleration in scientific and technical progress, profound structural changes for the better in developing basic national economic complexes, fundamental changes in investment policy. A course has been set toward the fundamental reconstruction of the national economy. The volume of capital investment in the technical reequipping and modernizing of enterprises already in operation is increasing steadily. For example, in 1987 their share accounted for 46 percent as opposed to 33 percent in 1980. The result of this approach is noticeable even now. The process of renewing basic production resources has become more animated and the previous negative tendencies of falling returns on assets have been slowed down.

Major changes are taking place in the social sphere. The practice of taking a residual funding approach to allocating resources for strengthening and expanding its material base is becoming obsolete. The priority given to developing the social sphere is becoming increasingly visible. First and foremost tangible changes have begun to appear in solving one of the most acute problems—housing. In the first 2 years of the 5-year plan the growth achieved in housing construction has been greater than we have had in the previous 10 years.

But perhaps most noticeable of all is the renewal in human relations. People are being given back the feeling that they are in charge. Democratic principles are being strengthened in the collectives and labor and social activity and are increasing. And, something which is particularly important, people's faith in restructuring is becoming stronger with each passing day. That means that the party is taking the people and the whole of society along the right road.

But, nonetheless, we have not succeeded in implementing to the full a great deal of what we planned to do in accordance with the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee April 1985 Plenum and of the 27th party congress. The inertia of the past is still too great. There are quite a few sections in the economy where restructuring is beating itself a path only with difficulty through the encrustations and obstructions which have accumulated over the past decades.

If we turn to general economic indices, then the most unsatisfactory results are for production of national income. In the past 2 years the deviation in the rate of its growth from the planned level was 1.7 percent.

The implementation of programs in the area of scientific and technical progress is giving rise to concern. As before, its sluggishness is felt in several industries and especially machine-building, which plays a key role. The tasks of economizing on resources are not being resolved with sufficient energy and this has a negative effect on the balance of work in the national economy.

The problem of meeting the growing cash-backed demand of the population remains particularly acute; so do decisions connected with increasing production of consumer goods and primarily food. The scale and structure of production of these is not in accordance with public requirements and, what's worse, this gap is widening. In the past 2 years, as before, the shortage of many types of these goods has remained. We have still not succeeded in keeping to certain key national economic proportions envisaged in the plan for the 12th 5-Year Plan. Thus, in industry the growth in production of Group A output was 1.2 times greater than the growth in Group B output although the reverse was planned. The lagging behind has become protracted. In the first 2 years of the 5-year plan goods to the value of R22 billion and paid services to the value of R4.5 billion were not supplied to the population as they should have been. All

this has given rise to very sore spots in the economy and social life of society. The disparity between the income of the working people and their opportunities to use this income to buy goods is increasing. Unsatisfied demand is growing and that engenders the occurrence of inflationary processes in money circulation.

We started the 12th 5-Year Plan in conditions of an extremely neglected financial situation. It is not in a favorable state even now. There is a high proportion of loss-making enterprises. Several industries and production sites only make ends meet thanks to state subsidies and we have not reached the turning point in the campaign against mismanagement. It should be added to what has been said that the economic situation has been aggravated because of a whole series of factors which could not be taken into account in organizing the current 5-year plan. They include the worsening in the current state of the world market for the output which forms the basis of our exports. There has been a corresponding reduction in the inflow of hard currency. It has proved necessary to increase exports to above the planned volumes and also to reduce imports, and in the final analysis that could not fail to worsen the balance of resources in the national economy.

As we can see, there are many problems. So far only the very first steps have been made in resolving them. Work must be persistently continued to improve the national economy and to give stability to the development of the economy and lift it to a new quality of growth. Success here can be achieved only by making wide use of modern methods of management in combination with fundamental changes in the structure of production. We have already embarked along this road. The new economic mechanism embraces increasingly broadly the most varied sectors and production spheres. A start has been made to the implementation of profound structural transformations.

The major spheres of the economy are developing on the basis of new principles approved by the CPSU Central Committee June 1987 Plenum and legally embodied in the Law on State Enterprise. This year, as is well known, more than half of all industry is working in conditions of full financial autonomy and self-financing. All this should add a new quality to the development of the leading sector of our economy—the state sector—and open up more fully its potential possibilities and by the same token strengthen the economic might of our country.

But today it is absolutely clear that we can and must solve the complex and large-scale tasks of restructuring the national economy. In doing so, we must do more than just develop the state sector of the economy to the utmost. For this it is necessary to make use of the whole diversity of the forms of socialist management, and above all such an effective form as cooperatives.

It is easy to comprehend why it is highly effective. The main distinguishing feature of cooperatives lies in the fact that they are one of the most important social forms for manifesting the independent action and creative ability of the working people and for involving them directly in the management of economic and social processes on a consistently democratic basis. It is precisely in this, if one looks at the matter from the political point of view, that one finds its genuinely socialist content.

There is another aspect, an organizational one. After all, it is not difficult to understand that it is not easy for large state enterprises, which form the foundation of our economy, to constantly adapt to varied—and the main thing—to rapidly changing demand. This means that it is necessary to create all the conditions for the optimum development of small and medium-size manufacturing plants with a flexible and maneuverable structure geared directly to the market, to their consumers. What is important here, above all, is the ability to gear themselves efficiently to the requirements of the national economy and to the population's needs and to be vitally interested in satisfying these needs. Cooperatives fully possess such flexibility and interest. Apart from this, they make a person the real master of production and liberate a person's spiritual strength and creative possibilities.

This is why it is precisely through the cooperative movement which is organically blended together with restructuring and the democratization of management methods in the state sector of the economy that real opportunities are opened up for overcoming many negative trends in the socioeconomic development of the country.

Cooperatives also move to the forefront by making it possible, within a short time, to resolve the most acute and primary problems of restructuring and to satisfy more fully the population's need for food, goods, and services, and by the same token become a powerful factor of acceleration.

Today we are becoming clearly convinced that the cooperative movement is making increasingly persistent inroads into the economy and into other major spheres of society's life. What we call new economic thinking has already become part of the cooperative form of management itself.

At the same time, despite the clear political line relating to cooperatives which was worked out by the 27th party congress, one frequently comes across—both at central and local level—the fact that many economic leaders, party and local soviet officials, scientists, and economists, remain thoughtfully silent, as they bide their time or directly oppose the development of cooperatives. On the basis of dubious arguments, they still continue to defend established dogmas about the “second-rate nature” of the cooperative system and its lack of any

future. It is often the case that opposition of this kind is concealed under the cover of supposed concern for the "purity" of the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialism.

What can be said about this? It seems that some people are being weighed down by the burden of fixed views about socialism, while others are prevented from looking objectively at Lenin's teachings about the forms and methods of socialist management and at the actual reality by plain ambition which is passed off as some sort of adherence to principles. They particularly manifest themselves when there is discussion of decisive conditions for the effective development of cooperatives such as commodity-money exchange on a businesslike commercial basis and in conditions of economic competitiveness. But the main way to regenerate the cooperative movement is based precisely on these principles. The way to develop the cooperative system and, on that basis, to restore the ruble and improve the market lies precisely via commodity-money relations. This is the focus of Lenin's concept concerning the essence of the cooperative character.

For many years, Lenin's provisions and guidelines about cooperatives were grossly flouted. Administrative-command management methods were put in their place. A virtual state takeover of cooperatives and the cooperative form of ownership took place. All the adversities which befell the cooperative movement in our country were essentially caused by the destruction of democratic principles and of the economic mechanism of the independent development of cooperatives and the undermining of its financially autonomous links with other components of the economy. This is what led to the "suffocation" of cooperatives. The socioeconomic danger posed by this to the country and the whole cause of socialism was stressed more than once by Lenin.

At present, the party is bluntly and directly posing the task of restoring and developing to the utmost the cooperative movement in the country. In their decision, the Central Committee and the government proceed from the fact that cooperatives are an objectively necessary sector, organically inherent in the national economy and the social system as a whole. The functions of the cooperatives are varied and in many spheres of social life are irreplaceable.

1. The cooperatives, by virtue of their nature, are more responsive to the market situation and adapt more successfully to its conditions. And in the national economy there is always a great need for those types of activity that objectively require flexibility and constant orientation toward rapidly changing consumer demand.

2. The experience of history and present-day practice demonstrate the very great resilience of cooperatives in agriculture. The upswing intended in the cooperative movement will undoubtedly instill new force into the

accelerated development of the economy's agrarian sector and give a powerful boost to solving urgent social problems in the life of the countryside today.

3. Cooperative enterprises and organizations have an unquestionable advantage in the sphere of domestic and other types of services to the population. In a word, cooperatives have no equal where what is most important is an individual approach to the consumer.

4. It is difficult to overestimate cooperatives' role in trade. The relatively small size of trading cooperatives enables them to speed up the movement of goods from producers to consumer, to better preserve their consumer qualities, and more fully meet customer requirements.

5. As present experience already shows, cooperatives can have a fitting place in implementing the scientific and technical revolution. By uniting the efforts of the engineering and technical intelligentsia, cooperatives of creative workers are capable of accelerating the creation and introduction of the latest equipment and technology. And, ultimately, cooperatives embody a powerful dynamism for renewal.

Vladimir Ilich Lenin noted that "there are a great many vital forces among the masses able to display magnificent capacity to a greater extent than can be foreseen. The task, therefore, of workers' cooperatives is to involve these forces, to find them and give them work immediately." As applied to contemporary conditions, Lenin's directives mean that man's creative and constructive strengths can and should be targeted to the good of society and to the strengthening of socialism, on the basis of the all-round development of the cooperative movement. Here, today, is one of the conclusive means of accelerating the revolutionary restructuring that has been launched in the country. The party Central Committee and the government believe that all the conditions and the persistent social need now exist for the cooperative movement in its most varied forms to develop effectively at a rapid pace everywhere. The expansion of cooperative activity is not the latest tribute to fashion nor some kind of temporary zigzag of policy but rather a vital requirement for our further advance along the road of social and economic transformation that has been stipulated.

II. The Legal and Organizational Foundations of the Development of the Cooperative Movement in the USSR [subhead]

Comrades, the draft law on cooperatives submitted for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet will fundamentally alter the existing legal status of the cooperatives. It will fully restore their cooperative nature, independence, and the basic principles of cooperative democracy. Its influence on agricultural and consumer cooperatives will be beneficial. By fully and precisely consolidating their rights and obligations, this law will

undoubtedly fill their activity with a fundamentally novel content. However, this, as they say, is only the half of it. Most importantly, comrades, the law is designed to open up wide scope for construction and active development to the most diverse cooperatives in all spheres of our economy. Adoption of the law will undoubtedly be a powerful stimulus for the further growth of cooperatives, will bring them to a qualitatively new level and permit the involvement of many millions of Soviet people in the development of the economy and in the social and domestic sphere. It is very important that on an equal basis with the state sector of a socialist economy the cooperatives should be a truly active participant with equal rights in restructuring. This is why those principles on which they are to develop required consolidation in legislation. The main principles are voluntariness, economic independence, self-government, the inviolability of cooperative property. To speak of the main thing that unites these principles and makes up the essence of cooperatives, it can be briefly expressed as follows: Democracy in all things. These words contain the profound basis for the activity of any cooperative both as a social organization and as a major link in the USSR's cooperative system. It is from precisely these positions that the specific content of each article of the law, its overall meaning and direction are determined. The draft law gives the cooperatives very broad scope for choosing the direction of their work. This is one of the most important conditions for the development of the cooperative movement. Cooperatives can really set free the initiative and enterprise of the working people only when not restricted merely to the strictly defined and narrow spheres in which to apply their forces, irrespective of whether this relates to agricultural or industrial production, to the provision of services, or to intellectual or innovative activity. This policy, it would seem, fully corresponds to the interests of the cause.

Today we can see for ourselves that living practice is outstripping the development of our legislation. The law has not yet been passed, and yet cooperatives are already being set up on initiative from below, and are functioning successfully in the most diverse spheres. Suffice it to say that, in just the space of time since the draft law was published—that is, less than 3 months—almost 6,000 cooperatives have been organized in the country; while in the entire preceding 18 months just 14,000 were set up. Undoubtedly, the creation of cooperatives will continue to gather momentum.

Moreover, not only is there rapid development of new types, but even of those cooperative forms that have operated in the country for many long years, such as agricultural and consumer forms. And, of course, the more efficiently organizational and economic work is carried out centrally and locally, the faster this process will go. This is particularly true of cooperatives in the fields of the manufacturing and marketing of goods and services. As yet they are not much in evidence here. In 1987 the output of cooperatives accounted for only .3 percent of consumer goods output; in the catering

sphere, .3 percent; in the volume of marketed consumer services, only .6 percent. On average, across the country, consumer services worth 25 kopecks per person were rendered by cooperatives. In Azerbaijan, Kirghizia, and Turkmenistan the figure was 6-10 kopecks. Only in Estonia did these services come to more than R3.

For the cooperative movement to acquire a solid share, and for the population and the national economy to be aware of its potential and favorable influence on the economy, what is being done today must be increased 10-fold, or in some fields 100-fold.

However, not infrequently this process is being held back by the great difficulties in setting up cooperatives. Frequently no help is forthcoming in the provinces; instead completely unwarranted obstacles are erected. This new draft document will create a barrier to lawlessness. The provisions for the creation of cooperatives formulated in it are of fundamental importance. Now no special permission from local soviet, economic, or any other bodies is required for this. They are to be organized at the wish of citizens on an exclusively voluntary basis. Any cooperative that draws up its draft constitution on the basis of the Law on Cooperatives is granted the right to register it without hindrance in the executive committee of the local soviet of people's deputies. Thus, the bureaucratic roots are being undermined in the setting up of cooperatives.

Complete voluntariness is a most important legal guarantee facilitating the development of the cooperative movement, not only when the cooperative is being set up, but also when citizens join or leave the cooperative. Voluntariness is no mere slogan, no mere formal right. It is a genuine legal norm that must be observed undeviatingly.

We can remember a time when, to force somebody to remain in the countryside and prevent him from leaving a cooperative, a reference from his place of residence and other necessary documents would be withheld from him. Unfortunately, unlawful devices to compel people to be part of a cooperative, even if it gives them nothing either in the material or moral sense, have persisted from that sadly remembered time and are still in operation. This practice must be roundly condemned. We have no right to permit the "coercion" principle instead of voluntary participation of a person in the constructive cooperative movement or to direct all efforts at the formal maintenance of the cooperative instead of using well-thought-out economic methods to raise interest in public-sector work.

Cooperatives in our country must develop freely, in the most favorable conditions, where the road to a cooperative is open to one and all. This applies to all types of cooperative. If by one's labor, by one's financial backing or other property someone wishes to adopt cooperative principles to tackle our common task of more fully satisfying the requirements of the national economy and

the population for goods and services, then nothing must get in his way. It would seem that this is the correct and sensible way to set out and tackle the matter. But already signals are coming in that in some places they are not allowing cooperatives to be set up. Furthermore, while blocking this they are, at the same time, hiding behind an outwardly respectable excuse: That the flow of the work force from the state sector of the economy into the cooperative sector is impermissible. This is a fabricated and sham concern. For if a person leaves an enterprise—be it state or cooperative—that means he is not satisfied with the working, living, or pay conditions. Here it must clearly be spelled out that this is not a question of priorities. Both sectors of the economy are equal. It is set out in the draft law that any citizen has the right to take part in the cooperative movement, and there must not be any restrictions.

Apart from all else, cooperatives are supposed to carry out a mission of great social significance—to involve in socially useful work those citizens who, by reason of age, health, family, or other circumstances, cannot take part in the work of state enterprises and organizations. We are talking here about pensioners, invalids, housewives, and students. This also concerns citizens who are laid off because of the introduction in the national economy of new equipment, technology, and the further improvement of management and the economic management mechanism. It is completely logical that it is necessary to take demand into account, to make effective use of free labor resources within the goods production and services sphere. This sphere will be developed particularly quickly in the immediate future.

The labor resources that can be drawn into social production are indeed great. The proportion of such a population is particularly high in the republics of Central Asia, the Transcaucasus, and Kazakhstan. There are quite a few large families here. But it will be worth creating the necessary conditions so that housewives will respond vigorously to such work. For example, in the Turkmen SSR, according to data from a selective study of the 70 percent of rural inhabitants who expressed a wish to take part in social production, about half reported that they would work if work was available near their residence. Twelve percent would like to work at home. No less acute is the problem of employment in the off-season period in kolkhozes and sovkhoses. Cooperatives, with their ramified and flexible organization of production and work make it possible to eliminate problems of this kind, be accommodating toward people's wishes, and make use of additional labor resources sensibly.

Thanks to the efforts to democratize society Soviet people are being transformed before one's very eyes. This is evident first and foremost by their attentive attitude to matters and to everything that is going on in the country at the present. These changes have been fully reflected in the draft law. A graphic example of this is the radical change in the role of the general meeting of the

cooperative which, in practice, is becoming an effective collective body of leadership. The rights that are granted to the general meeting make it possible for socialist self-management, broad democracy, and glasnost to be displayed to the full, and permit the direct participation of the members of cooperative in resolving all economic and social matters. Approving the cooperative's plans, establishing the procedures for distribution of incomes, determining the forms and system of labor remuneration, electing the board and chairman, making them answer for how they run the business—decisions on these and on a number of other matters belong exclusively to the competence of the cooperative's general meeting. Coupled with this, no one is entitled to tell a cooperative how to manage its affairs.

To fully realize their huge potential, cooperatives can join together into unions and associations created, of course, on a strictly voluntary basis. The experience of the development of cooperatives, in particular in the first years of Soviet power, as well as foreign practice convincingly bear out that such unions and associations play an important role. They are formed both on an industrial sector and on a regional basis. Alongside this one must not forget that unions and associations will only bring the cooperative movement to a new level of development if they become proper democratic self-management bodies. The goal and point of their existence is to strengthen cooperative democracy, to further improve production, to introduce the achievements of scientific and technical progress, and to ensure protection of the rights of cooperatives. The unions represent the interests of cooperatives in state and other bodies, and in international organizations. It is very important that the issuing of commands and the practice of administration by mere decree should be excluded fully from the working practices of such unions.

It is not difficult to be convinced of how fatal this is having looked at the present working practices of the Council of Consumers Cooperatives. Here they have essentially turned into bureaucratic bodies with a centralized management. Here's another kind of example. Genuinely democratic unions are being created by cooperatives for the production of goods and provision services. Such associations and unions are already operating in Moscow and Yaroslavl Oblasts, in the Baltic republics and in the Tatar ASSR. What is more they are created, one has to note, without any coercion from above and in a number of cases even against the wishes of local soviet bodies, as was the case in Yaroslavl, for example.

The new cooperative formations have a very efficient structure as a rule, a clearly defined range of duties; for example, the association created in March 1988 in the town Onaberezhnyye Chelny is now made up of 35 cooperatives of all different sorts. The cooperative workers elected their leadership, an executive commission. It has been set the task of studying supply and demand on the domestic market and the possibility of using free

material and technical resources available at state enterprises and organizations, of advertising the cooperatives' products, of rendering assistance in introducing inventions and rationalization proposals, and of defending and representing the interests of the cooperatives at different state bodies. The association intends to set up its cooperative bank to use its own assets and the free monetary resources of the population for expanding production effectively. This is cooperative initiative and democracy in action.

It is necessary to say that during the nationwide discussion of the draft law a great deal of attention was devoted to the matter of ensuring the independence of cooperatives. I think this is no accident. The development of the cooperative movement has been damaged a good deal by unfounded interference in the affairs of cooperatives both by state and elected cooperative bodies. Of the numerous proposals that have been submitted on this subject, the most essential one in the view of the government is the proposal to grant cooperatives the right of appeal through the courts or through arbitration against any unlawful act by state or elected cooperative bodies. This right, plus the ability to appeal against unauthorized instructions of various kinds that entail material loss, create a reliable guarantee of the interests of cooperatives from those who love to issue commands—who unfortunately have not yet become extinct here.

The first step of any cooperative begins with the formation of its property. There has been considerable talk on this subject in the years of Soviet power. So many theoretical pieces alone have been written! But it may well be that no other issue is more confused than this one. Starting in the thirties, it was declared that cooperative property was of secondary importance, lacked full social value, and had totally exhausted its possibilities. Because of such inaccurate premises, for almost half a century such property was "raised" to the level of national, state property. The sad consequences of those theoretical inventions are well known to us. In agriculture, for example, they led to the alienation of the farmer from the land, to a lack of a feeling of involvement with public property, to the loss of personal interest in the results of production, and as a consequence, to the steady depopulation of the countryside, especially in the central oblasts of Russia. Members of consumer societies also ceased to be the masters over their own property.

The draft law contains fundamentally important provisions aimed at consolidating cooperative property and strengthening legal protection. Today, we see in this a reliable economic foundation for the revival of the cooperative movement and guarantees for its free development on a qualitatively new, modern basis.

Here is just one of the legal guarantees set out in the draft law: Henceforth, the property of a cooperative cannot be taken away or transferred to state, cooperative, or other

enterprises, organizations or citizens without the agreement of a general assembly of its members. For everybody knows what often happened: Local organs quite frequently, and without the cooperative's knowledge, diverted its resources for purposes unrelated to its designated activity. All any kolkhoz had to do was to improve itself to slightest degree and begin to clamber out of debt, and requisitions would begin against it. It would be brought in to participate in the construction of houses of culture in rayon centers, stadiums, and rest homes; and a significant proportion of the housing built by it would be taken away.

That bad practice is continuing today. Last year the RAPO [Rayon Agro-Industrial Association] of Chernenkovskiy Rayon in the Moldavian SSR diverted R174,000 into its reserves from the account of the "50-Letiye Oktyabrya" kolkhoz for financial aid to farms making low profits and running at a loss—of course, without the agreement of a general assembly of the members of the collective farm. Or here is another example from the same republic: A draft decision was submitted for examination by the rayispolkom in Yednitskiy Rayon 2 months ago, according to which 38 farms in the rayon, including seven kolkhozes, were directed to transfer 26,000 rubles to the current account of a representative football team which was taking part in the republic's championship. Even the intervention of the prosecutor's office to block that illegal decision did not help.

There are also similar occurrences in consumer cooperatives. The Samarkand Oblast Executive Committee, for example, recently decided to take away an administrative building from the Union of Consumer Cooperatives and a hostel from the Samarkand Cooperative Institute and to transfer them to the republic's Ministry of Health. Protests from the Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives to the republic's Council of Ministers and Prosecutor's Office were not taken into account until very recently. [The version of the speech broadcast on Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0619 GMT on 24 May adds: "It is said that it was cancelled 3 days ago."] By such actions, members of cooperatives for all intents and purposes lose control over their own property. It is, let us say it straight out, a paradoxical situation: The cooperative is the owner, but somebody else actually exercises the rights of ownership. This contradicts the nature of cooperatives. This law is intended to guard the cooperative from all manner of infringements of its rights and property, and create the necessary legal protection for this.

III. Effective Economic Management Mechanism for Cooperatives [subhead]

Comrades, it is perfectly obvious that the successful development of the cooperative movement in the country is possible only if the collective farm or other cooperative functions on the principles of a genuine democratic management mechanism. The draft law not

only grants them broad rights in the economic sphere, but also contains the necessary economic guarantees for this. It can be said with complete justification that the economic mechanism of cooperatives is the heart of the law. It has incorporated the rich historical experience of the cooperative movement, all the best things which were accumulated in the first years of Soviet power and all the advanced features of the practical work of new cooperatives in the spheres of production and services; and, naturally, it is in keeping with the provisions of the Law on State Enterprises.

The fundamental significance of the draft law on cooperation which is under discussion lies first and foremost in the fact that the economic mechanism envisaged in it, by consolidating the progressive elements that are now being practiced by socialist enterprises, give it new content and provide impetus for the further improvement of the whole economic management system. The fundamental principles of this mechanism are complete financial autonomy and self-financing, matching income and expenditure, and the strengthening of the role of economic interests in the interaction among cooperatives as well as between cooperatives and state enterprises and the individual sector of the economy.

This presupposes the resurrection of the role of market commodity-money relationships which must become the dominant form of economic relations between cooperative producers of goods and consumers. It is the use of cooperatives for the development of the socialist market and of goods and services that determines the essence of the economic mechanism, and the features of the planning of cooperative activity, pricing, the distribution of income, and wages.

First, planning. The democratic nature of cooperatives, will accept only one thing: complete independence in this matter. This is why the only legal and economic form in all economic relations among cooperatives will from now on be the contract. It makes it genuinely possible to direct all economic activity of a collective farm or other cooperative toward satisfying the demands of the consumer for whom the products are being made, and to make those kinds of goods which the national economy and the people needs. The all-around development of direct-contract relations between cooperatives and their consumers gives us every reason to believe that the more cooperative market and customer-oriented enterprises there are in the country, the more varied and better the goods they produce, the sooner we shall see an end to the ugly phenomenon of shortages, which we have not been able to escape for decades.

That is one side of the question. The second is that the growth in the number of cooperatives means a development in socialist competition [konkurentsiya] between them, and this in turn is the road to lowering production expenses and market prices.

A cooperative is an enterprise that pays for itself. It cannot and is unable to exist if its work makes a loss or is not profitable enough. Because of this an economically profitable structure of production is vitally important to every cooperative. This is the immutable rule, the norm for the activity of any cooperative enterprise, be it a kolkhoz, a consumer cooperative, or a cooperative for producing goods and services. There is no reason to fear too much freedom here. The cooperative benefits and we all benefit, because in order for the cooperative to live, it has to work very efficiently. Otherwise it will neither have the money for payment of wages, not for developing itself. For the state does not bear the responsibility for the activity of any kind of cooperative. So contract relations and the independent formation of the structure of production lie at the basis of fundamental changes in the planning of cooperative activity.

Bearing this in mind, it is impossible for the style and methods of work of the central economic organs not to change. Their active participation in the development of the cooperative movement is of immense significance. They must direct their efforts toward all-around support of cooperatives, toward creating economically favorable conditions for them, toward increasing as much as possible the production which is essential for the most complete satisfaction of the demands of the national economy and of the people.

All methods of economic influence must be used, the totality of the regulating instruments in the service of these goals. The draft laws fully reflect the system of such economic leverage and stimuli. It is the policy of pricing. It is the tax demands, which are fixed, but differentiated according to the kind of cooperative activity; lending rates: direct state investments, and finally the system of state orders.

The question of state orders merits particular attention. During the discussion of the draft law the most acute debates developed around it. Clearly, working on state orders is attractive to cooperative members, first and foremost because it provides an opportunity for guaranteed marketing of their output. For nobody has at his disposal such economic potential as the state, and this must be exploited in creating the most favourable conditions for cooperatives to produce the output required. State orders should have economic prestige in order that there be something to fight for. But in the rivalry between cooperatives and state enterprises for the advantageous state orders priority must be given exclusively on the basis of competitiveness. This means that to obtain state orders the cooperative also has to offer conditions which are acceptable and attractive to the state. We must constantly bear in mind here that state policy toward participation by cooperatives in fulfilling state orders rests on strictly voluntary foundations. This applies to all types of cooperatives including kolkhozes. The kind of approach whereby cooperatives voluntarily

take on state orders on a competitive basis fully vindicates itself. If I may refer to the experience of cooperatives working in constructions, the extraction industry, the production of building materials, and production-technical items, they are achieving a two- or three-fold increase in labor productivity in fulfilling state orders. Consequently, the cooperative members' earnings are high and the benefit from this is mutual. For cooperatives to operate successfully appropriate approaches to price formation are also essential.

The question of prices is a special one, a special one—a very complex question, which directly affects everyone. A reassessment of the role and content of prices in the cooperative movement is urgently required for the broad development of cooperative societies. The point is that under conditions of commodity-money relations prices cannot be detached from socially essential expenditure. In elaborating a price policy to be used in the cooperative sector we must remember our own experience. This has taught us that arbitrary limitations on price levels, imposed without taking into account the real demand for the commodities, causes serious aggravation of speculative and other negative phenomena in the market. The problem can be solved only through effective price regulation: on the one hand, by applying a well-considered and economically based taxation policy, and on the other, by giving the utmost support to healthy competition. Under conditions of broad development of cooperatives, the price level depends, first and foremost, on the relationship between the cooperatives and those who consume their products on the commodity market.

There is a strict law in operation here: After all, a cooperative cannot develop normally while marketing output at a loss to itself; at the same time, neither will the consumer pay a price which does not correspond to the commodity's consumer qualities and to his own income. In other words, the principle of supply and demand, which balances the interests of the consumers and the producers, is being included in the process of price formation. Life has shown that violation of this principle—voluntarism in price formation—causes a braking of production growth. As a result, shortages of individual goods develop and money circulation is disrupted. This is why the draft law grants broader rights concerning price formation to cooperatives working for the market. At the same time, the law determines the boundaries of state regulation of prices: Firstly, centralized prices are established in cases where the kolkhoz or other cooperative is marketing output in fulfillment of a state order; secondly, they are applied if a cooperative uses raw materials supplied from state resources to manufacture its output; thirdly and finally, state prices should form the basis for forming retail prices where products centrally allotted to cooperatives are being traded.

Combining strictly fixed prices with freely set ones will undoubtedly give extra impetus for the cooperatives to increase production of goods and services in conditions of socialist competition. This will make it possible to

saturate the market with the sorts of goods for which there is the most acute demand and at the same time to maintain an economically well-founded level of prices. In other words, regulating the mass of goods which comes on to the market which meets the demand of the population is the most effective, stable, and reliable means of controlling prices.

It is from profoundly democratic positions that the draft law formulates provisions on the right of cooperatives to independent distribution of income. This democracy in the economic mechanism manifests itself primarily in the fact that the level of wages for the labor of those working in cooperatives is rigidly dependent on income received and on the individual's personal labor contribution to the final result achieved. Each individual here is paid according to his labor. This approach gives rise to people having a true interest in doing work which is full of initiative and which is enterprising and productive.

The direction which has been taken in pay policy is general for all types of cooperatives and that is the right road.

Of course, there are certain distortions now at the initial stage of developing new types of cooperatives. Sometimes earnings, and especially in the cooperatives which operate in the area of the so-called shadow economy, in the area of shortages, are unjustifiably high. As a rule they are not achieved by any special labor zeal or super-high productivity but by means of a sort of gamble on the current state of the market, on trade and other shortcomings. The main reasons for this phenomenon are the low saturation of the market with many goods, the poor flexibility, and sometimes the feebleness of our tax system.

It is thought to be quite right that the draft law envisages progressive taxation on the earnings of cooperatives. This issue has given rise to quite a bit of heated debate during the discussion process. The majority were in favor of approving progressive taxation but there were other opinions. To sum up all that was said, then the overall conclusions can be reduced to the following: Flexible tax policy is a reliable tool for regulation in the hands of the state. It makes it possible to stimulate production of goods for which there is increased demand and to restrict production of other goods which are less necessary. Even now experienced leaders of cooperatives assert that the application of a progressive scale of taxation on personal earnings gives them an incentive to reduce the prices of their goods on the market.

Another point must be taken into consideration. Relatively low fixed tax rates have been set for the overall income of the cooperatives. In combination with progressive taxation of earnings this makes it advantageous to channel a greater proportion of income into expanding and modernizing production, improving output and meeting the social needs of the collective. The first to gain from this are the cooperative members themselves.

And indeed the quality of their output will improve and become more competitive. Furthermore, as is well known, progressive taxation begins to bite directly when the level of earnings is quite high.

Perfectly well-founded grievances were also expressed against adopting a progressive taxation system. In particular it was noted that it should be more flexible with more differentiation and that it should take into consideration specific features and types of cooperatives and the prices of the goods produced by them.

In reality, if cooperatives market their items or produce work and provide services according to state price rates then it is right for taxation on cooperatives to be set on the same basis as taxation on industrial and office workers in state enterprises. These and other proposals have been taken into consideration in formulating the draft law after nationwide discussion.

Regarding remarks on the scale of tax rates then during the development of the cooperative movement, taking into consideration all kinds of possible changes a constant analysis of the situation in the market for goods and services, and also the activity of various types of cooperative, decisions will be made in accordance with the interests of the cooperative movement and the principles of social justice in society.

The draft law contains several provisions on finances, settlements, and credit which are new in principle. The main thing is for the cooperatives to be free of excessive regulation and surveillance and to have an opportunity to work with out hindrance in conditions of financial autonomy and self-financing.

First of all, the relationship between the cooperatives and the banks is changing radically. These relationships will henceforth be built only on a contractual basis. To increase the flexibility and efficiency of the banking system as well as the effectiveness in providing credit, we must boldly begin to set up settlement and finance centers, financially autonomous cooperative banks and cooperative insurance societies within the cooperative sector. The banking system must become an equal partner of any cooperative and must promote by every possible means the raising of production efficiency. However, banks have been and will remain strict controlling elements. They are duty-bound to continue to demand that the cooperatives unswervingly carry out their obligations to them and also to the budget and the suppliers.

The rules are strict here. If a cooperative violates its obligations for payments it may be declared insolvent and all dealings with it may be curtailed. The draft law introduces strict requirements regarding the liability of cooperatives for their debts with all their property—in

other words, it will be sold off. A unprofitable cooperative has no right to exist and is subject to liquidation. All this is part of the cooperative nature of management and the principles of working in conditions of total independence.

The procedure for using financial resources in production and social development is considerably simplified. Kolkhozes and other cooperatives are given extra opportunities for forming assets of their own. In particular, they are given the right to use the financial savings of members of the cooperatives and people hired to work there, as well as finances from enterprises and organizations, for their needs.

There was a great response during the discussion of the draft law to the rights of the cooperatives to issue securities and shares. Naturally, during economic reform, practice gives rise to new forms of economic relations; and this is what has happened regarding shares. This form of financing is used by the agricultural firm of the "Adazhi" Kolkhoz in the Latvian SSR, the Zagorsk Berezka Cooperative in Moscow Oblast, and several other cooperatives. In this way they create more opportunities to modernize, reconstruct, and expand production. Only members of the cooperative, as well as enterprises and organizations, can buy shares. It should be underlined that shares to not lead to the reemergence of money-capital and the stock exchange. Cooperatives are essentially different from joint stock companies, inasmuch as the members of the cooperative—the shareholders—take part in its activity through their labor and thereby in the creation of income.

The issue of the material and technical supply of the cooperatives is very important. This is the most pressing problem at the moment. According to information from a survey conducted in Moscow Oblast, 84 percent of cooperatives are having considerable difficulties. For their own needs, of course, what is of prime necessity for them is to make use of secondary resources and gearing themselves to use the local raw materials base. Cooperatives themselves should develop production of raw and processed materials and components more boldly; this would permit the urgency of this issue to be alleviated. At the same time, however, it should now be seen clearly that there can be no getting away from selling to the cooperatives the necessary resources via wholesale and retail trade. The commercial centers currently being set up in the USSR Gossnab's system as well as rental outlets for technical facilities, including building machinery and small-scale mechanization technology, are being connected to the broad organization of wholesale trade.

Participation in foreign economic activity opens up great possibilities for cooperatives. On the basis of foreign currency self-recouping, they can now be directly involved in exporting and importing goods, in receiving

bank credits for this, and can set up joint enterprises with foreign firms and exchange scientific and technical data and technology with them.

The draft law also covers a wide range of other issues of management in the cooperative sector. These include incentives for scientific and technical progress, environmental protection, social problems, and support for the cooperatives' activity on the part of the state. It is, therefore, possible to say, if the economic mechanism of cooperatives is assessed in broad terms, that all its positions are founded on a systematic approach to the activity of the cooperatives and all its levers and incentives aim at the all-around development of the cooperative movement. The necessary guarantees have been created for independence in exploiting the right granted to the cooperatives of active cooperation with state and other enterprises and organizations. The specific features of individual types of cooperatives—agricultural, consumer, goods production, and services—have been taken into account and considered.

Comrades, the basic principles of management formulated in the draft Law on Cooperatives, are the logical continuation of the new approach to managing the economy contained in the general conception of socialism's development at the contemporary stage. Today it is necessary to see in all clarity that we will move increasingly closer to forming a new economic model of the socialist system of managing the economy as the economic reform and the democratization process in the national economy become more profound.

Its general outline can already be traced. It is typified by the following signs of major importance. In the first place, by the presence and close interaction of various forms of property—state, cooperative, personal, and property of voluntary organizations.

In the second place, by qualitatively new directions in the utilization of state and cooperative property on the basis of the broad development of lease relations, under which financial autonomy achieves its greatest embodiment; and moreover, the state retains property rights to the means of production, including natural resources, and will transfer part of them, primarily those of medium and small size, to be utilized by the labor collectives of state and cooperative enterprises on a lease basis.

In the third place, state and cooperative enterprises, as socialist commodity producers, will possess full economic independence and will directly bear material responsibility for the results of their activity; they form their property and develop production from their own incomes; their relations with the state are regulated by economic instruments—normatives, taxes, rent and lease payments, and so on.

Finally, in the fourth place, in conditions of diversity of economic forms of management, commodity and monetary relations, which organically merge with the new method of centralized guidance of the national economy as a single whole, emerge as the main interconnections between producers and consumers. In a word, we shall consistently and without deviation move toward the new model of management. Its fundamental base features describe the socialist economy as commodity production organized according to plan, whose supreme social aim lies in the steady enhancement of the well-being of the people and in the formation of a way of life for Soviet people in accordance with their needs and material and spiritual interests. This is an economy in which the state, with the aid of the instruments of the socialist market, stimulates to the utmost producers' self-development and their focusing on the consumer, and on high efficiency and quality. Moreover, of course, at issue here is a market organized by plan, which excludes the antagonistic features that are characteristic of private enterprise.

Economic competitiveness among commodity producers must become the essence of socialist market relations in practice, while the market is called upon to serve as the moving force and as an effective form for the development of public-sector production. Otherwise, it will lose its real meaning. Socialist competition [konkurentsia] emerges as one of the most important forms of competitiveness [sostyazatel'nost']. It must stimulate the utmost utilization of the possibilities of economic and technical progress, counteract monopolistic tendencies, and in the final analysis, lead to a reduction in the price and an improvement in the quality of commodities and services, and to the enhancement of the efficiency of public-sector production. Commodity producers will be compelled to strive for this in order to secure their stable position in the market. Thus, competition immeasurably raises the efficacy of the whole mechanism of socialist management, and activates its internal moving forces; it fully meets the noble aims of socialism. The needs of Soviet people for various goods of high quality will be satisfied more quickly and more fully, the well-being of the people and of society as a whole will rise, and the might of the state will be consolidated. For this reason the creation of conditions for socialist competition and for its utmost development is one of the major economic and social tasks at the contemporary stage, and a decisive step has been taken in this direction. State enterprises have been granted considerable economic independence, their economic responsibility and interest in the final result is being intensified, and their authority to dispose at their own discretion of the output they produce is being expanded. With the development of cooperative production, there appears a powerful competitor in the shape of the cooperatives for the state sector of the economy and for the sphere of individual labor activity. This is an important factor in the development of socialist competition. With the adoption of the Law on Cooperatives, its principles receive legislative consolidation, and whether we like it or not, the whole of our

economic life, from the enterprise to the highest echelons of state administration, will be forced to take account of these principles, since it is on them that the invigoration of all spheres of all activity and the interest of the individual in the progress of society depends to a large extent.

IV. Strengthening and Developing Cooperative Foundations in the Kolkhoz Movement in Every Possible Way [subhead]

Comrades, the radical transformations in the country's economy, connected with the development of cooperatives, must lead to radical changes, primarily in the vitally important sphere which is agriculture. This was confirmed by the recently held Fourth All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers. It made a great contribution to the elaboration of a strategy for the further development of the cooperative movement. Having examined the results of the congress, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo noted that its materials and documents have a fundamental significance for the utilization of the great possibilities of cooperatives in implementing restructuring. Agriculture is at the cutting edge of the party's strategic line, which is directed toward raising the people's well-being. This is where the most difficult knot of problems lies at the present time, and speaking objectively, at the stage which we have now entered, providing for the needs of the population for high-quality food products is the most immediate and pressing task. All Soviet people have an interest in its speediest resolution. It is precisely for this reason that agrarian policy is constantly at the focus of attention of the party and of the government. Just over the last 3 years a number of fundamental, important measures have been taken directed at developing the country's agro-industrial complex, and at substantially improving work in this most important sphere of economic activity.

A key role in solving food problem is played by kolkhozes as well as by sovkhozes. They have traversed a long and difficult road during the nearly 60 years of their history. Everything has happened on this road. Years of real feats and heavy losses. Years of joy and of sorrow. Of victory and errors. It was the kolkhozes which in the difficult and troubled years of war were the main providers of food to the people at war. The main weight of the period of reconstruction fell on them. They had to suffer in full degree the effect of the numerous arbitrary reorganizations and administrative arbitrariness. But in spite of these tests the kolkhozes nevertheless remained as socialist agrarian enterprises. The kolkhozes were helped to survive and adapt themselves to conditions of limited independence and to practically being turned into state enterprises, by their cooperative nature, by the attempt and the need to live on the rouble they earned and to continue and strengthen their peasant stock by labor. In one way or another, kolkhozes are for the most part approaching their 60th anniversary economically

strengthened. Today they contain about 13 million people, own more than 40 percent of the fixed capital assets of public sector agriculture. They provide nearly one half of the volume of output of this sector.

Quite a lot has been done over the past few years to strengthen the productive base of the kolkhozes. At the same time, in many of them the return on the potential they have created remains low. The productivity of fields and farms is growing only slowly. The debt of kolkhozes to the banks has reached a huge sum, R38 billion, repayment of a large part of which has had to be postponed until the end of the century. The unsatisfactory relation between the money allocated and the results put the country's economy in a difficult situation. It is legitimate to ask: Why, in spite of huge efforts, have many kolkhozes still not become model agricultural enterprises of a socialist type? If we compare the indices of the highly developed countries, the majority of our kolkhozes and sovkhozes fall behind them in the yield of their agricultural crops, the productivity of stockbreeding, and consequently in labor productivity.

That, comrades, is the main reason why we, having at our disposal colossal water and land resources, do not meet our demands for several agricultural products and are forced to go and buy abroad. Since 1963 our country has turned into a steady importer of grain crops. Things have now got to the point that every third kilogram of vegetable oil used in the country, every tenth kilogram of meat sold to the people, every fifth kilogram of butter, and every fifth can of fruit and vegetables are purchased abroad. With such an agro-industrial complex, how can we allow the proportion of import of dried fruit in market resources to be 60 percent? This, in our country which has long been famed for its orchards.

To a large extent this is the result of the undermining and neglect of the most important principles of cooperation. It is a fundamental task to restore them, and an important contribution to restructuring to further develop the kolkhoz structure. It must be said that the task is neither easy nor simple. For decades methods of management and guidance have become entrenched in the kolkhozes which are incompatible with their cooperative nature. Their special social characteristics were not taken into account. Methods of direct state control were spread in all kinds of ways to the kolkhozes. In the last 3 decades nearly half of them were arbitrarily turned into sovkhozes. This led to a loss of many valuable social aspects of the kolkhoz structure; first and foremost this led to the kolkhoznik losing his feeling of being a master of the land. This gave rise to apathy in him toward the public sector economy, and brought with it low production efficiency. The main idea of the Law on Cooperatives is to open up the creative possibilities of the kolkhoz peasantry, to create the conditions and guarantees for them which will bring about a constant increase in the yield of fields, in the productivity of animal husbandry units, and will ensure a solution to the social problems of the rural areas.

Let us direct our attention to the main tenets of the draft law, which reflect new approaches to the development of the kolkhoz cooperative movement in conditions of the social and economic restructuring of society. First and foremost, it is a matter of overcoming the unsuitable management methods which have grown up traditionally, and giving back to the kolkhozes their cooperative essence and restoring kolkhoz democracy.

The draft law removes the restrictions on choosing how to structure production. Kolkhozes have been given the right, side by side with agriculture, to engage in any other kinds of activity, including the processing of output, production of consumer goods and industrial goods, trade, and supplying various services.

In the history of the cooperative movement in the countryside, there have been many zigzags. Permissiveness alternated with prohibition; as a result, the subsidiary kolkhoz production and services coming today account for only 5 percent of the total volume of the goods marketed. Three-fourths of kolkhozes and sovkhozes have no significant subsidiary production units. Their capabilities are far from being fully utilized even in those regions which today are considered to be some of the best. Regarding Arkhangelsk, Novgorod, Vologda, Kaluga, Kursk, Tomsk, and Tyumen Oblasts and the Maritime and Khabarovsk Krays, no serious attempt has been made to change anything for the better. A guarded attitude persists toward any kind of income not directly connected with agriculture. Moreover, many leaders still do not risk association with small industries: It might be dangerous. The prosecutor's office has still not cooled down from its heated struggle against "nonlabor" incomes.

But this is a truism with which everyone is familiar: In those places where the processing and other small industries are well developed, there one has stable labor collectives and a strong economy. For instance, this is how the "Druva" Kolkhoz in Saldus Rayon of the Latvian SSR—under chairman Comrade Janis Petrovich Rubulis—conducts its affairs. There agricultural raw material is processed in subsidiary workshops; the manufacture of construction materials has been set in motion. This alone brings in a net income of R1.5 million to the kolkhoz coffers. The kolkhoz workers have been guaranteed employment the whole year round. The village has expanded. A developed social sphere has been created. The problem of keeping personnel has been solved. A considerable part of the resources earned by the subsidiary production units is invested in basic production. As a result, the grain crop yield reached 56 quintals per hectare last year, and the yield per cow exceeded 5,400 kg of milk. Financial autonomy and collective subcontracting have become normal forms of organization at the kolkhoz.

The new draft law aims at this, too. One of its provisions gives preference to cooperatives, leasing, and to collective and family subcontracting. Through such forms, we

are in a position to transform qualitatively the organization of kolkhoz and sovkhoz production and to embark on the road to the agrarian revival of the country. This was confirmed in convincing fashion by the conference held recently at the CPSU Central Committee on matters pertaining to the development of lease contracts.

Labor collectives now get the right to long-term leasing of land and basic assets. Moreover, kolkhozes and sovkhozes are able on a contractual basis to allow them to independently market output, to use as they wish the income left to them, and to open accounts at a bank or at a finance and settlement center. It is as though a kolkhoz or sovkhoz were to become a cooperative consisting of primary cooperatives. There are more and more examples of things being organized in this way.

It is very important that in the countryside other forms of cooperative enterprises have the right to live together with these progressive forms of cooperatives. It is precisely here that there is the broadest field of activity for agricultural cooperatives and companies specializing in the production and processing of output, in agricultural small-scale industries, supply of technical and agrochemical services, hire of agricultural equipment, and joint running of private subsidiary farms, and for others. These forms of agricultural cooperatives are already becoming a reality. There would be more of them but initiative from below often comes up against passivity and now and again against open opposition from certain leaders who see in man's attraction toward cooperatives only an aspiration to earn a little bit more. We have already said on more than one occasion: If a wage is justified by production no one can limit it. Otherwise the sense of showing initiative and enterprise and the wish to take on more responsibility is lost. The draft law also reflects everything in its place in this matter.

I would also like to consider the following important matter: Kolkhozes are an important component of the agro-industrial complex of the country. They are connected by many threads to all structure-based links. There exists an objective necessity and a direct advantage of a kolkhoz joining various interfarm associations. But here, too, one must abandon the habit of "imposing" such formations by administrative means. Let the kolkhozes themselves decide on whether or not they want to join an association. Let they themselves weigh up the economic advantage for the farm and the social need. If there is no such need or advantage then the kolkhoz has a right not to join or to leave an artificially created association. Interfarm formations should be organized on genuinely democratic cooperative principles.

At the present time there are already about 100 agrocombinations operating in the country, as well as more than 90 agro-industrial associations and agrocompanies, and around 700 scientific-production and production systems. They include many kolkhozes. The process of integration will continue to develop and deepen. They will undoubtedly affect the entire sphere of management

of the agro-industrial complex and necessitate a radical change in the style and methods of work of all its bodies from top to bottom, a restructuring of their framework and functions, and a rejection of administration by injunction within management; and in this regard it is obviously necessary to heed the severe criticism being addressed not only at the currently operating rayon and oblast ruling bodies but also at the republican and all-union state agro-industrial committees, and to start acting more boldly in transferring to new and more progressive democratic methods of management.

At the Fourth All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers, many letters and publications posed the question of a clearer definition within the draft law of the rights of kolkhozes in the planning and sales of agricultural produce.

Fears were expressed that the state order imposed from above could quite easily turn into a state command. Now in the amended version of the draft law, relations between kolkhozes and enterprises and organizations procuring and processing agricultural produce have been defined differently. Farms can conclude voluntary agreements with procurers and processors regarding the sale of their produce. They may also, as they see fit, organize its marketing to any other consumer and at kolkhoz markets.

Regarding state orders, those enterprises and organizations where they are placed must work with the kolkhoz in such a way as to give it incentives to sell produce to them. These incentives can be made through the pricing system, by ensuring a guaranteed market for the goods, by providing the necessary quantities of material and technical resources, and by other economic methods. I think this clarification will be supported by the deputies.

A particular place in the system of economic relations between state enterprises and kolkhozes is occupied by the pricing of agricultural produce. Many problems have accumulated in this area. In our country, with its vast scale and extreme differences in natural and climatic conditions, there still have been no zones created for large-scale specialized production of marketable goods, grain for foodstuffs and fodder, cattle feed, and other things. Can it be considered correct that even with lower outlay, the profitability of producing high-quality grain in one of our largest granaries, such as Krasnodar Kray, is lower than—let's say—in Tula Oblast?

It is high time that we made a thorough examination of the pricing system. The system of prices should be a true reflection of the level of socially necessary production costs and should create conditions for an equivalent exchange of agricultural products. Moreover, valid prices are a secure economic basis for the rational distribution of agricultural production according to the country's natural climatic zones. The need for and ability to set up specialized zones is obvious. The economic requirements are also well known. The prices for

basic commodities should be such that they cover the production costs of kolkhozes and sovkhozes working in zones with relatively poor conditions. At the same time, farms situated in areas with better conditions should contribute appropriate rental payments.

The question of specialized agricultural production by zones is one of the most important questions in the work of the State Agro-Industrial Commission of the USSR and the union republics. The efficiency of management's economic mechanism will depend to a large extent on its correct and objective solution. It would seem essential for us to approach the matter of improving the system of purchase prices from this aspect also.

For kolkhozes, as for the whole cooperative system, it is exceptionally important to correctly resolve the issue of distribution of the income received. In this connection, one cannot but recall that in 1966 guaranteed payment for labor was introduced at kolkhozes. This was a progressive step for that time, aimed at raising the standard of living of kolkhoz workers. This is precisely why the overwhelming majority of them enthusiastically welcomed the decision. But time has passed and conditions have changed; and now one cannot help but see that over 2 decades, and for a whole range of reasons—including the influence of the system of guaranteed payment for labor—parasitical outlooks have arisen in many kolkhozes.

We have departed from the collective working day and arrived essentially at unwarranted leveling in distributing the collectives' income. Guaranteed payment is used by some kolkhozes as a means of obtaining more than they have earned. The labor of the kolkhoznik is all too often rewarded without regard to the end results. Payment for labor should, of course, be guaranteed by its work and its own income, for social guarantees only become real when they are secured by genuine labor.

The present-day economic mechanism allows for the formation of a wage fund that depends directly on the level of kolkhoz income. As they function under full financial autonomy and self-financing, kolkhozes are obliged when apportioning their income to make their requirements fit their existing potential. Today, on 3,000 kolkhozes, the payroll exceeds even their gross income. The state cannot continue to encourage living beyond one's means and to defray the losses of mismanagement. That is a reality of restructuring. The draft law sets this out quite clearly.

It is necessary to speak about the problem of land utilization. No economic machinery can, of its own accord, lead to high incomes, if a caring and economic attitude toward the land—the main production resource in agriculture—is not ensured. For this reason, the draft law includes rigid restrictions in disposing of kolkhoz land. At the same time, strict responsibility is expected for its utilization, right up to confiscation. So that the land might work effectively, the new law permits it to be

leased out. When the first reports appeared in our press on lease contracting as a very important means of raising the interest of farmers in the results of their work, some voices were raised warning that the leasing out of land is incompatible with our agrarian policy, that at one time it was banned, and that the reemergence of leasing all but undermines the foundations of socialism. I would like to remind you that leasing of the land was not frowned upon by the party and the Soviet state. Quite the reverse: It was made use of until the end of the 1920's and played a positive role not only in rebuilding Russian agriculture, but also in significantly increasing the efficiency of land usage. However, later on, with all-out collectivization, land-leasing was indeed banned. What of today? On many farms the ploughland is overgrown with bushes; it is turning into swamp and it is subject to secondary salinization. Not infrequently arable land is given over to nonagricultural construction. Is not this trend evidence of an irresponsible attitude to land? At the present time there are 0.8 hectares of ploughland per person in the country. The squandering of this most valuable national asset must be halted once and for all.

In short, comrades, there is no more pressing task than to safeguard the land and increase its fertility by the economically sensible use of any method, including leasing. The main thing is that the ploughland and other agricultural land should be of the greatest possible benefit to the peasants and to the country in serving not just this generation, but our grandchildren and great-grandchildren, too.

I do not believe agricultural cooperatives can lose sight of private subsidiary plots as a sphere of their interest. All of us can remember the quite unjustified struggle waged against them: the inconceivable taxes on peasant households; the cutting down of kitchen gardens and orchards; their reduction to tiny plots. These measures—whether certain people want to admit it or not—were intended to destroy the countryside. Now there is some revival noticeable here. The private subsidiary plots produce one-quarter of the total gross output of plant and animal husbandry. In recent years the process of integrating private and public holdings has been much more active. The draft law opens up great new opportunities for this. Now people may be offered plots of land on a contractual basis and helped in cultivating them; supplied with seeds, fodder, and young livestock; and receive other services. Such work is recouped by considerable additional produce.

It must now be understood quite clearly that only through restructuring and through reviving cooperatives can the countryside be rid of the painful legacy of the past, and a new, just, and economic future opened up for kolkhozes and sovkhozes. This must be done. We are all indebted to the rural worker. Objectively speaking, the whole of our industrialization, science, and culture has historically been borne on the shoulders of the countryside. But we are not good at repaying our debts. On the whole the countryside is still just as impoverished and

poorly equipped as before. If we do not raise the countryside to a modern level, then we will not resolve all the other interconnected economic tasks. That is what we must constantly bear in mind as we reveal the great vistas for the development of agricultural cooperatives.

To round out what I have just said, I would like to stress that not only the sections concerning agricultural cooperatives but also all other provisions of the new law fully extend to kolkhozes and other cooperatives in rural areas.

The main thing here is that every article in the law is aimed at strengthening and developing cooperative foundations in the kolkhoz movement.

V. Fundamentally New Content for Consumer Cooperatives [subhead]

Comrades, the radical restructuring of the consumer cooperative system is an urgent task in developing the cooperative movement in the country. It would seem that this system, with its long-standing traditions of cooperative self-management and the special role that it played in founding and developing socialist cooperatives, must have accumulated enormous experience and reserves of resources, and serve as an example of efficient economic management.

But the state of affairs in reality is simply alarming. Consumer cooperatives have in point of fact lost their cooperative essence. They have in fact turned into administrative and bureaucratic forms of economic activity and management. Using the example of consumer cooperatives—one of the oldest spheres of cooperative activity—we can now clearly see how ruinous it was to deviate from Lenin's teaching on cooperatives—these digressions being a transfer to direct absorption into the state, the breaking up of natural relations between cooperatives and their elective bodies, and the masses, numbering many millions of shareholding members, who are almost totally alienated today from active participation in the affairs of the cooperative movement. In other words, consumer cooperatives have stopped being independently acting organizations of the working people. The role of the supreme body of cooperative self-management, the general assembly of shareholding members, has been reduced to nought.

Democracy has been replaced by administrative formalities. The right to decide all matters concerning economic and social development, a right of the consumer cooperatives and of their rayon councils, which are the main sections in the consumer cooperative system—has been appropriated by the oblast and republican union and Tsentrsoyuz.

The boards of cooperatives and the representatives' assemblies of rayon consumer cooperative unions have turned into bodies which mechanically execute orders. Their functions have become essentially similar to those

of state administrative bodies. It is not fortuitous that the numbers of the aktiv in elective posts here have fallen by almost half over the last 2 decades.

All the plan indices and economic norms and limits are now being imposed mainly from above on those who carry them out. The system of forming and using funds and reserves, and creating economic enterprises, acquiring, selling, and writing off basic assets and other material assets has been established by decree.

Using the apportionment [razverstochnyy] method, cooperatives are being supplied with commodity resources and material and technical resources regardless of the results of economic management. A rigid centralization of resources, which is alien to the cooperative form of ownership, has been established. But this is not the end of the story. An idea developed in administrative offices about reinforcing the administration of primary cooperatives, which was passed off as a rationalization of the cooperative movement's activity.

There is no need to mention that no members of consumer societies whatsoever took part in adopting decisions on this. As a result, from 1940, their number in rural areas has fallen by sevenfold. Most cooperatives have been eliminated. More than half of those remaining have been turned into so-called rayon consumer cooperatives—gigantic cooperatives which have been totally severed from their social basis, that is, their shareholding members. The average number of members per cooperative has reached 9,000 people for the country as a whole, while individual consumer cooperatives have as many as 25,000 members.

It is clear that such giants cannot consider the interests of shareholding members, nor is it even possible to get together and discuss vital matters in a businesslike way. This is a vivid example of form fully replacing substance.

The situation is no better in the labor collectives. Here at enterprises and organizations, about 3.5 million people in consumer cooperatives work, create, and increase by their labor the wealth of cooperatives. But the overwhelming majority of them take absolutely no part in managing the affairs of cooperatives. They do not even enjoy the rights that shareholding members do. Nor do they have the right to vote in the elective body of the cooperative's management. And the salaries they are paid for their labor are equivalent to those paid to similar categories of state enterprise workers.

This sort of situation can cause nothing but indifference toward efforts to improve cooperative activity. Irresponsibility and apathy are obvious here. Nobody shows interest in attaining high indices, drawing additional commodity resources into the turnover, increasing purchases of the population's and farms' agricultural produce, increasing production of his own produce. The slowing pace in developing the turnover of cooperative goods also testifies to this. Consumer cooperatives also

fail to fully meet the demand of shareholding members and to meet the demands of the rural population for consumer goods. The unsatisfied demand is as much as R8 billion. The quality and cultural standard of consumer services provided by the consumer cooperatives, which embrace almost one-half of the country's population, is also low.

This is the reason for a monstrous phenomenon which can be observed almost everywhere: Kolkhoz workers' families who are members of consumer cooperatives are forced to acquire around one-half of all nonfood commodities in urban retail outlets. Every year they spent up to 200 million man-days traveling to the cities for purchases and to sell the produce from their private subsidiary plots in the markets. Incidentally, there are 115,000 small rural settlements, with a population of around 7 million people, where there are no permanent retail outlets at all, and 8,000 kolkhozes and sovkhoses with no cafeteria.

There are 11,000 cooperative permanent multipurpose reception and procurement points in the country. This is totally insufficient if we take into account the fact that surplus produce could be purchased in 300,000 villages and 12.5 million market-garden plots. No more than 20 percent, or only one-fifth, of the commodities in the cooperative commodity turnover are produced and procured by the cooperatives themselves. Kolkhoz workers market only one-third of their surplus produce through consumer cooperatives; every year a substantial percentage of that surplus perishes or is fed to livestock, while city dwellers are not provided with sufficient potatoes, vegetables, and fruit.

In general it can be said that consumer cooperatives are doing what they can: Their potential and society's demand for the services of this mighty system are in need of radical alterations in line with the nature of cooperatives. The draft law is aimed at reviving the economic independence of consumer cooperatives and at developing self-management, complete financial autonomy and self-financing, on a genuinely democratic and self-managing basis. It is only by developing in this way that they will take on a qualitatively new appearance in accordance with the economic and social functions which consumer cooperatives are supposed to perform.

One fundamentally important provision of the draft law is the granting of the right to set up consumer cooperatives in towns with the aim of improving retail service and public catering, and of rendering various services. These consumer cooperatives are allowed to be formed both independently and at organizations, enterprises, and establishments, where workers in the relevant labor collectives can take part in their activities as individual members. To provide a guaranteed supply of goods and services to the population industrial, construction, transport, and other types of production cooperatives as well

as enterprises working on the basis of the provisions contained in the USSR Law on the State Enterprise may be set up within the consumer cooperative system.

Interesting experience in developing new types of consumer cooperative activity does exist. Last year, for instance, a cooperative association called "Garant" was set up in Yegoryevskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast. It consists of three enterprises: Delta, which produced backyard summer houses and wooden packaging materials; Yegoryevsk, which produces small-scale courtyard structures; and Kosmo, which assembles and installs the buildings manufactured by the first two cooperatives. The association is planning production and services worth more than R2 million in 1988.

It is essential to make full use of other opportunities. The draft law provides for a broad system of enhancing the shareholder-members' interest in the activities of the cooperative. For example, they are granted the right to preferential acquisition of commodities in cooperative shops, guaranteed sales through cooperatives on a contractual basis of the output of personal subsidiary plots or business activities, and the use of cooperative enterprise services. Shareholder-members are assured of obtaining work in consumer cooperative organizations. Consumer cooperatives have been given the right, at the expense of income, to grant their members discounts on the retail prices for the goods and services they market, and privileges in obtaining goods on credit.

Other articles in the law are also aimed at emancipating consumer cooperatives and ensuring their development on the basis of complete independence, financial autonomy, and self-financing. What is important now is practical work to revive consumer cooperatives and enhance the role of rayon cooperative unions. This work should begin with a review and radical change of their rights and functions, as well as of the rights and functions of the oblast, kray, and republic consumer cooperative unions and Tsentrosoyuz, and a restructuring of their relationship with one another. It is particularly important to completely eradicate interference by superior bodies in the activities of the system's primary links, the issuing of decrees, and petty tutelage, and the substitution of control by these bodies for self-management. All questions pertaining to the development of a cooperative's business must be solved by the primary links themselves, the shareholder-members, their general assemblies and elected management executive bodies, on the basis, of course, of economic methods and contractual relations. The law creates reliable legal foundations and guarantees for this.

Consumer cooperatives, with their new possibilities that are opened up by the law, may and should make a substantial contribution to resolving the food problem and improving services for the population.

VI. The Cooperative System in the Production and Services Sphere is a Promising Area of the Economy [subhead]

Comrades, the draft law opens up broad opportunities for setting up cooperatives in the sphere of production and services. It is difficult to overestimate the prospects for their solving the important socioeconomic problems related to satisfying the demands of the population, enterprises, and organizations for goods and services they require. According to USSR State Statistical Committee data, the present unsatisfied demand for manufactured consumer goods is estimated at more than R30 billion, and the figure is about R15 billion for the services provided by state enterprises. How can the gap between demand and supply be eliminated in a short space of time? The task, I think, can only be resolved with the help of businesslike cooperation between the widespread network of cooperatives and the state sector of the economy.

In our country, cooperatives operating in the production and services sphere were revived only 18 months ago. The cooperative movement now embraces such socially important spheres as consumer goods production, provision of community services, and public catering.

Today, more than 1,000 cooperatives are already in operation for the procurement and processing of secondary raw materials, over 4,000 cooperatives producing consumer goods, the same number in public catering, and almost 8,000 in the consumer services system. Trade cooperatives serving cooperative workers and citizens engaged in individual labor activity are developing. The growing rate of development of cooperatives in the production of goods for the population can be seen. The volume of marketable products and services is growing. While it came to R350 million over last year, in the 1st quarter of this year it stood at R326 million.

The initiative of cooperative workers is aimed as a rule at production of the kinds of goods for which the unsatisfied demand is greatest. Their development is proceeding more quickly in places where the necessary organizational and economic prerequisites have already been created. It is important to note that increasingly, cooperatives are beginning to be set up in those spheres of the economy where there has been a strained situation for years. I mean the output of many types of technical and production products, construction, and the manufacturing of science-intensive items. What is more, we are dealing with small batches of output.

Major enterprises do not find it convenient to engage in this and cooperatives can profit from this. For example, the practice of work of the Volkhov cooperative in Novgorod convincingly proves the high efficiency of the cooperative form in construction. The Vtorpolimer mash machine-building cooperative in Kiev has mastered, on the basis of new technological solutions, the production of lines for processing polymer waste products which are

extremely essential for the national economy. The Entuziast cooperative in Riga has set up the manufacture of kits of components for the Straume association made from the waste products of production. Now there is no need to bring these components in from outside the republic. In the Moldavian SSR three scientific and technical cooperatives have been set up experimentally. Their orderbook for 1988 exceeds R3 million.

Comrades, setting up a cooperative is not an end in itself but a powerful means of saturating the market with goods and services and thereby reducing their prices. But this can only be achieved given a large number of cooperatives competing against each other. At present, cooperatives are only beginning to gain momentum. We are at the very beginning of the journey. Therefore, it is very important to help the cooperative movement to become firmly established and to protect it from distortions. Life shows, however, that setting up a cooperative today and organizing its work particularly are sometimes not at all simple. Even in Moscow, which one would think should set the tone in the development of the cooperative movement, many rayon soviets and even the Moscow gorispolkom have not done and nor are they doing far from everything possible to provide newly formed cooperatives with premises, are not giving them the proper help in acquiring raw and processed materials and equipment. The population is poorly informed about the work of cooperatives and the cooperatives themselves about the goods and services that are in demand. A collective letter by 14 chairmen of Moscow cooperatives points out that the braking mechanism is being felt particularly keenly by the cooperative workers of Moscow where all the negative things in the development of the cooperative movement are reflected as in a mirror. This probably explains the fact that only a little over one-half of Moscow's cooperatives that registered their statutes have started work.

The organization of cooperatives for the production of goods and services in rural areas and small towns is totally neglected. It is difficult to find any sort of serious justification for this. Evidently it all lies in the suspicion of local bodies toward new types of economic activity. They seem unusual to certain people, at variance with fixed ideas. At the same time, the absence of goods in the stores, the constant lines, the hassles in obtaining services for the population are considered to be almost normal. This has given rise to a situation where people engaged in any type of distribution have more weight in society than those producing material valuables. And when attempts are made to use cooperatives to do away with all this, this is perceived as undermining the foundations of socialism and frequently meets with direct opposition.

I talked earlier about the topical nature of the tasks of providing cooperatives with material and technical supplies. Today, primarily, we must grant them the real opportunity to utilize the huge reserves of the most

diverse material valuables accumulated by state enterprises. For example, according to information from the USSR State Committee on Statistics, over 27,000 tonnes of many types of secondary textile materials are not being used in light industry. Iron and steel works have substandard metal products, and metal waste covering a very wide range. Machine building enterprises also have fairly large unused resources. Overall, for the national economy as a whole, an average of about 60 million cubic meters of timber waste and a considerable amount of hide, polymer, rubber, and other types of secondary raw materials are not used each year. Even 1 and 1/2 years ago, when we were organizing cooperatives in the production and service spheres, we geared ourselves to their using all this wealth, but in practice the matter is moving slowly. USSR Gosstab bodies must give cooperative workers greater help. They must be taught to trade, use initiative, to efficiently reveal resources and stocks, to organize information on the presence of a raw material, processed and usable production waste surplus at the enterprise, and to organize permanent sales exhibitions of these goods. Cooperatives in the production and service sphere are a new feature of the cooperative movement. They are just coming into being, but their prospects are great. This type of cooperative activity ought to permeate the country's entire economy, and be a great help in dealing with the tasks facing society.

VII. Practical Organizational Work in Developing the Cooperative Movement in the Country [subhead]

Comrade deputies, the draft law we are to discuss and adopt is designed to resolutely advance the development of the economy's cooperative sector and to turn it into a powerful means of socialist construction. The local soviets of people's deputies should be in charge of this matter for the whole state. It is precisely they who, by using to the full the rights and opportunities of the most representative body of people's power, are charged with giving cooperatives a truly mass character, multiplying our forces in the main trends of restructuring, and in the struggle for the democratization of society and radical economic reform.

The new law's innovative spirit is incompatible with all forms of stereotypes, erratic work, or paralysis of thought and action. It is most important at the very beginning to refuse to allow the quagmire of bureaucracy to engulf the live and developing organism of the cooperative movement. None of this will happen if the care of the territory's masters, the soviets, with a vital interest in the Law on Cooperatives coming into force more rapidly, can be felt everywhere. Of course, there will be more to do, and there is therefore a need for a precise and comprehensive organization of all the work. Creation of cooperatives that could primarily improve supplies of food produce and industrial goods, and meet the requirements in consumer and other services in each region, is coming to the fore. Cooperatives are capable of making a sizeable contribution to supplementing food stocks.

It is in precisely this direction that the Soviets of People's Deputies should concentrate their efforts now. The point of reference is well-known. The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have adopted a number of major decisions recently that present a sweeping program of measures to solve the food problem. All types of agricultural and consumer cooperatives should join the kolkhozes in fulfilling it. Small agricultural cooperatives, citizens' private subsidiary plots, orchard and horticultural groups should all come into the circle of the local soviets' constant concerns. After all, we have many empty and poorly used lands and neglected villages!

No less important is good organization of the matter at local level, linked to the setting up of cooperatives producing goods and providing services. Here one cannot manage without an indepth study of the social and economic situation and a most thorough analysis of the possibilities of forming cooperatives, taking existing resources and demand from the population into account. Cooperative workers, and those who would like to be so, have an urgent need of information on all this. After all, research has shown that one-half of the working people who would like to take part in cooperative work do not know what to do in order for it to be useful to society and profitable for them.

The initiative to set up the cooperatives required can quite well come from the local soviets, too. Action needs to be taken now already. At the same time, a bureaucratic approach to completing the necessary formalities connected with organizing cooperatives and registering their charter and principle of work, is particularly intolerable. Many facts attest that, here too, those skilled in creating red tape have been found. As a result, the timescale for registering a cooperative has been drawn out to a 1 and 1/2 months, 2 months, or more. It is also alarming that various prohibitive documents restricting the emergence of cooperatives in specific regions have already appeared. It is, for instance, difficult to understand why in the Orel and Kursk Oblast there is a ban in force on cooperatives making production and technical products. Again, the local soviets should regard it as a direct obligation to assist cooperatives in allocating production areas, buildings, provision of these with equipment, processing, and raw materials. These should be given special emphasis.

Primarily due to a lack of promptness in solving these issues, more than one-half of the registered cooperatives in Archangelsk Oblast, one-third in Novosibirsk Oblast, and more than one-quarter in the Uzbek SSR are effectively inoperational, while in the cities of Ivanovo and Zaporozhe it has been seen fit to take buildings already repaired by them away from the cooperative workers. Sadly, these are not isolated facts. Things will no doubt improve if, of course, at local level the appropriate moral and psychological climate is created, facilitating the expansion of the cooperative form of activity, and if attitudes toward it are the same as toward any other

socially useful labor aimed at the good of society and at improving the life and daily routine of Soviet people. There is a powerful lever for this—wide-ranging glasnost.

The results of the activity of the cooperatives, their contribution to the local budget, the use of money received from cooperatives to speed up the economic and social development of this or that area should become known to all. The mass media have an active role to play in all this.

It is an important obligation for local soviets not to permit any distortion of the essence of the cooperative forms of management. They must check attentively to make sure that conmen and speculators of various types should not hide behind the cooperative signboard. It is essential to completely exclude any kind of possibility for dishonest people to get into the cooperative movement with the aim of private entrepreneurial activity, of exploiting other people's labor, or for personal gain. Unfortunately, this danger is not ruled out, and such instances have already occurred. It is clear that only with the help of the soviets will cooperatives quickly be able to take a prominent place in the economy of each rayon, town, oblast, kray, or republic. In the final resort, this is aimed at satisfying the demands of their populations.

Comrades, we must turn all the work of local soviets around to face cooperatives, to carry it out in accordance with the wise behest of Lenin to the effect that "soviet authorities must only check the activity of the cooperatives to make sure that there is no deception, no concealment from the state, no abuses, but in no circumstances must they obstruct cooperatives. Indeed, they must help and aid them in every way." It is precisely this behest of Vladimir Ilich that one must use as a yardstick to check every step one takes to develop cooperatives.

To a large extent success will also depend on the coordinated, energetic actions of all spheres of state management. Their efforts should be aimed at comprehensive help to the development of the cooperative movement in the interests of all of the people. I want to remind you that it is proposed that the law on cooperation should come into force on 1 July 1988. As you see, the time is extremely short. The USSR Council of Ministers has determined a package of priority measures which must be implemented in the shortest possible time, that is during May and June of this year, so that the law should come into force without delay.

The central economic organs have an especially responsible role. This applies in particular to preparing proposals on such a complex and urgent question for the development of cooperation as the procedure and conditions of taxation. The reconsideration of a number of lengthy pieces of legislation is an essential condition for the new law to come into force on time. I mean the bases of civil and also land legislation of the USSR and of the union republics. In addition, during the discussion of the

draft, the public expressed many fears that the innovative spirit of the law may be emasculated by all sorts of departmental instructions. The Government of the USSR has given instructions that work should be started by ministries and departments to review and repeal any of their normative enactments which contradict the law.

Next! As you know, comrades, we are entering a responsible stage in working out the most important and promising plan documents which will determine the strategy of our progress for many years to come. In this connection we have to take into account comprehensively the possibilities of cooperation as a component part of the national economic complex of the country in the formation of the basic trends of economic and social development and the state plan for 1991-95. In a word, state organs must begin without delay to master the art of managing the national economy in conditions of the speedy development of cooperatives, as equal partners to the state sector, to have an interest in helping them, to create a truly favorable and healthy economic situation for the unhindered development of the cooperative movement. It is on this level that the center of gravity of all practical organizational work is to be found. Only on this basis is it possible to ensure that cooperatives turn into a truly functioning system giving tangible results.

The raising of the cooperative movement is a subject of particular concern to the councils of ministers of the union republics. It is important to conduct business in such a way as to support cooperatives actively, and using their advantages consistently and persistently to solve the tasks of the all-round development of each region and republic as a whole. This is the most important road of self sufficiency, of paying for oneself, balancing out the money income and expenditure of the people of the region.

The industrial sector management organs must contribute fully to the potential of cooperatives today. It must be said frankly that so far they are coming around only slowly, and sometimes regard cooperatives with distrust. This situation must be broken, and the sooner the better.

Ministries and departments are faced with the tasks of stepping up this work with all the means at their disposal. Its aspects can be the most varied; everything depends on the initiative and enterprising attitude of the staffs of the industries, and their skill at implementing the new approaches in the most effective way in practical activity. It is necessary to maintain consultations with enterprises and organizations, and regional management organs, and to take account of the accumulated experience. It is important to work seriously, without wasting time and with their involvement, at the question of using cooperative forms of production to liquidate the nonprofitability of a number of enterprises.

There is one more important task. It is necessary to place collaboration between cooperative and state enterprises on a practical footing in the immediate future. Of course,

a lot depends on the amount of interest with which enterprises set about this activity. The law on cooperatives, being an organic component part of the legal basis of the unified management mechanism of the country, extends, to a great degree, their opportunities in realizing the rights granted by the Law on State Enterprise. Enriching each other, these laws fill economic activity with new content, and open up promising forms of active, mutually advantageous cooperation between the state and cooperative sectors of the economy.

And finally, there is this fundamental issue: Cooperatives are intended to function not only in the domestic market. Many rights are now granted in the foreign economic sphere. Proposals on the procedure for arranging direct ties between cooperative organizations and foreign partners, and on wide development of such cooperation, are being prepared by the State Foreign Economic Commission.

Summing up what I have said, I would like to stress that, no matter how good the law, its provisions must be checked against practical experience and concrete economic life. The task is to take its pulse constantly and react without delay to any deviations from its normal, steady rhythm. It is necessary to aim for full-blooded functioning of such a highly important artery of the country's economic organism as the cooperatives. This is all the more necessary together with the major transformations which are due to be implemented by reviving the cooperative movement and raising it to new heights.

Comrades! A little over 2 years have passed since the 27th party congress. Beneficial changes are taking place in society, covering all aspects of our country's life, including the economy. The process of its renewal is growing; broad masses of the working people are involved in it with increasing interest; an active search for new forms of management, which would radically change the current social and economic situation in the state, is in progress. This general scale, this new creative atmosphere, and the people's understanding the need for radical changes have created the objective conditions for the appearance of the draft law on cooperatives.

The current USSR Supreme Soviet Session is taking place in a very responsible period for the country, at a sharp watershed in the development of Soviet society. The law on cooperatives is imbued with the spirit of this time, which is historic for the destiny of the motherland. To open up a wide road for it means to move forward boldly, and in a Leninist manner, along the path of socialism and democracy; to embody it in concrete, practical deeds means to lend a powerful impetus to the renewal of society; to put the law at the service of the people means to work with even greater energy for their well-being, in the name of our lofty ideals. [prolonged applause]

Armenians on Strike in Nagorno-Karabakh
AU2405174088 Paris AFP in English 1721 GMT
24 May 88

[Text] Moscow, May 24 (AFP) — The Armenian ethnic majority in Stepanakert, capital of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region of the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, has been on strike for the past three days, a dissident said Tuesday.

And in Yerevan, capital of the Soviet Republic of Armenia, a small demonstration was staged Tuesday in support of the strikers' demands, an Armenian nationalist reached by telephone at Yerevan, Moses Gordissyan, said.

The Armenian strikers in Stepanakert demanded punishment for "the true culprits" behind the killings of 32 people, including 26 ethnic Armenians, during disturbances in February in the Azerbaijani town of Sumgait. All Armenians in Stepanakert, "even bakers," are on strike, Mr Gordissyan said.

At the Azerbaijan capital of Baku, where demonstrations have been staged over the past two weeks to protest against the trial of several Azerbaijanis in connection with the Sumgait deaths, the situation was calm Tuesday, a Western source there said.

Georgians Plan Protests, Warned by Authorities
AU2405160388 Paris AFP in English 1555 GMT
24 May 88

[Text] Tbilisi, Soviet Union, May 24 (AFP) — Dissidents' call for a demonstration here Thursday marking the 70th anniversary of Georgia's secession from the Russian Empire has triggered warnings from authorities that troublemakers will be sharply dealt with. The recently-formed dissident group, Ilia Shevshvadze, has called on Georgians to take to the streets at a time when authorities are already worried about growing ethnic unrest in the neighbouring Caucasian republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The demonstration is to mark the declaration of independence by a Georgian Social Democratic Republic here on May 26, 1918. The republic was recognized by the Soviet Union in May 1920. But in February 1921 Soviet troops invaded the country following a rising in Mingrelia, Abkharia and Adjara, and proclaimed Georgia a Soviet Republic.

Officials have sought to cool the threat of a nationalist outburst here by recently reminding locals, on television, of tough new anti-demonstration legislation introduced in all three Caucasian republics on March 24. Penalties against illegal assembly are even more severe in Georgia than in the other two republics with demonstrators here facing up to three years in jail, compared to 15 days for those in the other two republics.

The new legislation was announced as Moscow made public its decision not to transfer the Armenian-dominated autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan to Armenia. Georgians too have their own territorial claims on neighbouring republics, notably on the Saingulo region of Azerbaijan. But they also fear encroachment by other nationals, such as Armenians living in their region of Akhalkalaki.

Georgians also fear the sheer demographic weight of growing non-Georgian minorities in their republic, an old problem as already under the Czar they decried "Russification" of the region. According to the 1979 census, Azeris represented about five per cent of the five million strong Georgian population. And estimates today suggest that Azeris might account for as much as 20 per cent of the total population.

In Tbilisi itself, Armenian and Azeris live in their own respective areas, separated by a bridge. Fearing violence because of clashes between these two nationalities in the neighbouring republics, police sealed off the bridge for a while in late March, witnesses said. Mounted police also dispersed an Armenian demonstration in town at about the same time, witnesses added.

Growing unrest does not seem to have caught authorities off guard however. Last April, when threatened with a nationalist demonstration called to commemorate a 1978 campaign for the preservation of Georgian as the republic's official language, authorities decreed a week-long holiday for all students.

Vilnius Reports 22 May Demonstration
LD2405120488 Vilnius in English to North
America 0000 GMT 24 May 88

[Excerpts] As we have already reported, several thousand inhabitants of Vilnius gathered in the square in the center of Vilnius on Saturday to remember the innocent victims of Stalinism. [passage omitted]

However, a group of citizens made an attempt to organize another gathering on Sunday in the center of Vilnius in Gediminas Square. They allegedly wanted to commemorate the 1948 Stalinist deportations of citizens of Lithuania. This gathering, as it had happened before on several occasions, was instigated by Western radio stations broadcasting to Lithuania.

As the gathered people did not possess a document from local authorities permitting this gathering, militia and militia support groups moved in and asked the crowd to disperse and not to disturb the public order. The group presently dispersed. Nobody was detained.

3,000 Reported at Rally

LD2405185188 Vatican City International Service
in Polish 1415 GMT 24 May 88

[Text] On Sunday 22 May the Lithuanian militia dispersed a 2-hour rally, which was held at the Gediminas square in the center of Vilnius on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the deportation of 200,000 Lithuanians to Siberia, which was done on Stalin's orders. About 3,000 people took part in the rally. The TASS agency reported that only about 300 people took part. According to unofficial statistical data out of 200,000 of those deported to Siberia only 10 percent survived the inhuman conditions of transport in cattle and goods wagons and hard labor in Siberian camps.

Soviet dissident (Valeriy Senderov), quoting witnesses of the demonstration in Vilnius, said that at least 10 people who spoke at the square were subjected to interrogation. On the morning of 22 May, three out of four organizers who, on 10 May, were encouraging people to take part in the demonstration, were put under house arrest. They were: Vitautas (?Bogusis), Antanas (?Ireleckas), Andrius (?Stuckus), and Romas (?Medeisis). [figures and names as heard] Sister Nijole Sadunaite, a well know Lithuanian nun, was arrested at 1100 on Sunday when she was on her way to St Michael's church. She has taken part in liturgies for the victims of Stalin's deportations in other churches.

A similar demonstration was held on Whit Sunday in Kaunas. According to unofficial sources from 3-5,000 people took part in it.

Patriarch Pimen on Church-State Relations

LD2505062488 Moscow TASS in English 0604 GMT
25 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS — "We have all necessary conditions for the free exercise of our mission in keeping with church tradition," says Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and all Russia.

In a big interview carried by the NOVOSTI press agency's monthly bulletin on religion in the Soviet Union in connection with the 1,000th anniversary of Christianity in Russia, the patriarch described relations between the Russian Orthodox Church and the state as "quite normal."

"The church has been separated from the state, and we believe that this is right, for they are different in their nature," he pointed out.

In the opinion of Patriarch Pimen, the recent reception given to him and other members of the holy synod by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev was an example of good relations.

The head of the Russian Orthodox Church described the baptism of Russia as an important event that "largely determined ways of the development of the peoples living in our country."

The patriarch pointed out that members of the Russian Orthodox Church enjoyed equal rights with other citizens and took part on the same basis in the life of the country.

He gave special attention to the church's activity in defence of peace. He recalled that the holy synod adopted two years ago a special message "on war and peace in the nuclear age."

The Russian Orthodox Church was acting together with all other peace-loving forces in performing its peace-making mission: Christians and followers of other religions, non-religious public groups and organisations.

"The leaders of two great powers," Patriarch Pimen said, "have made first steps towards a nuclear-free world. These steps were achieved also thanks to the efforts by many ordinary people of goodwill, including believers, who took part in creating a favourable moral atmosphere around the Soviet-American talks."

"The Russian Orthodox Church is confidently exercising its liberation mission, keeping intact the legacy of the faith bequeathed to us by the holy apostles," the patriarch pointed out in conclusion.

Uzbek Obkom Chief Prepares for Party Conference

WA18000331 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Apr 88 p 2

[Article by M. Mirkasymov, first secretary of Khorezm Obkom, Communist Party of Uzbekistan, under the rubric: "Toward the 19th Party Conference": "Out of the Thrall of Inertia"—first paragraph is editorial introduction; italics as published]

[Text] 1. *How are you approaching the 19th all-union party conference? What kind of positive perestroika experience has there been in your party organization following the 27th CPSU Congress?* 2. *What are the difficulties and problems in this work?*

We recently met with K. Shabarshin, chairman, Chita Oblispolkom, at the obkom. This is already the second year that a mutual cooperation agreement has been in effect between our oblasts. Since we have a surplus of labor resources, we send workers to help the Siberians. Khorezm youth are receiving training there at a PTU [vocational-technical training school] and a technicum and are working in a worsted goods combine. We exchange goods and we obtain lumber which we urgently need. The benefits are reciprocal. We, for example, have succeeded in accelerating housing construction.

Together with K. Shabarshin, we have been looking for ways of intensifying direct economic and cultural ties. We have established a joint working commission that is to draft mutually advantageous agreements and submit them for the scrutiny of oblispolkoms. We can, for example, send to Chita more workers, students and youth for training in PTU's, technicums and VUZ's. There is the possibility of establishing affiliates of Chita Oblast plants and factories in Khorezm. Local industry enterprises have vast opportunities to organize cooperatives and to exchange products and local raw materials.

Reports in party organizations have shown that people everywhere do not know how to draw upon the support of the elected aktiv, that in many cases the knowledge and experience of members of the bureau and committees are in vain. Now, in the course of preparing for the conference, we are decisively correcting this miscalculation. Activists are invariably involved in the preparation of questions for plenums and sittings of the Bureau and are included in working groups that draft directives and oversee the fulfillment of decisions. Party assignments are handed out to every member and candidate member of the party Bureau and of party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms. The Bureau and plenums of party committees have already heard more than 200 members of elected party organs report on their contribution to perestroyka. A dialogue with Communists has begun in all primary party organizations. This will help to increase the efficacy of primary party organizations and the vanguard role of their members.

Communists note that the committees are holding fewer meetings, are less involved with paper work and are spending more time meeting with people at the local level. A poll of 20,000 Communists before one of the obkom plenums showed that there are good changes everywhere. People are prepared to follow the path of perestroyka. The level of criticism and self-criticism has been raised. Higher demands are made on members of elected party organs.

All this in itself is beneficial. The development of the economy and the social sphere is more dynamic. During the first 2 years of the five-year plan, the volume of industrial output has increased appreciably and the integrated target program—"Consumer Goods"—has been carried out at a relatively more rapid rate. Targets for commissioning schools, preschool institutions, hospitals and polyclinics have been surpassed. Twenty thousand square meters of housing have been built above and beyond the plan. Agricultural output is on the rise. Targets for purchasing all types of agricultural and livestock products have been surpassed.

At the same time, major reserves for economic and social development still remain essentially untapped. In view of this fact, at the initiative of the Bureau of the party obkom, a commission for the study of the productive forces and natural resources under the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the republic's soviet and

economic organs have formulated a concept of the accelerated socioeconomic development of the oblast up to the year 2010. If we implement this concept, we will raise the oblast to new levels already in the near future and we will improve the use of its labor resources. We must create new branches of industry and mechanize all agricultural production.

The mindless invasion of the oasis's nature, which has been continuing a number of years, has violated the ecological equilibrium; there has been a dramatic reduction in the "green belt." The shortage of fruit is felt not only by urban dwellers but in the countryside as well. Scientists have assisted in the development of the "Ozeleleniye" program [a program for planting trees and gardens] which clearly articulates the task of the oblast agro-industrial complex and other organizations in planting trees and gardens and in the further development of horticulture. A mass movement has been launched to restore Khorezm to its former glory.

Painful though it is, some of our livestock farms look better than some of our rural schools. The situation cannot be remedied without the aid of party committees, without the active participation of all Communists. The aid of builders and skilled kolkhoz craftsmen has also been enlisted. Twenty-eight planning schools instead of 15 have already been commissioned this year. Party members on the Kolkhoz imeni A. Kurbanov in the Koshkupyrskiy Rayon have set a good example. At their initiative, a 320-pupil school was built by the direct labor, *khashar* method and put into operation in 3 months. One would think that this example will find followers.

Attention to economic methods of management has given way to the development of the collective, family contract throughout the oblast as a whole. For example, there are more than 30,000 links working on a contract basis in crop production. This year, animal husbandry and feed production will be converted to progressive forms of labor organization. Subsidiary facilities also strengthen the economy. Seventeen shops on the Kolkhoz imeni Narimanov in the Bagatskiy Rayon produce construction materials and consumer goods and employ more than 500 persons. The Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin in the Urgenchskiy Rayon has organized shops that produce lime, brick, oil-base paints, and other construction materials. Every year, 84 oblast farms produce more than 90 million bricks. We will develop this direction: At the same time that it permits us to make better use of labor resources, it also supplies the countryside with construction materials and consumer goods.

With the aid of the party obkom's Council for the Promotion of Scientific-Technological Progress, we have devised special target programs for the development of various branches of the national economy. Many specialists and scientists participated in this effort. But we are mindful of the fact that drafting a program is only the beginning. The main thing is to implement the program.

This is why, for example, the party obkom did not approve the "Housing" program until it found the possibility of providing it with construction materials. In particular, now that kolkhozes have rid themselves of the free-ride mentality, they have begun helping the enterprises that produce these materials. We are organizing the production of construction materials from local raw materials.

Unfortunately, good decisions are not always reinforced by actions. This is sometimes because of the lack of coordination of the activities of departments and local party and soviet organs. I cite the following fact. Land that has long been irrigated in the lower reaches of the Amu-Darya has been forgotten in some places because of the extreme penchant for developing new land. We concluded that a large part of the capital investments must go to restoring old cultivated land. Even the republic's Ministry of Water Resources does not object to this. But the reclamation of unproductive land will take more than allocated in the plan.

In passing, I would like to pose the following question. In recent years, the quality of water used for irrigation has deteriorated. Its mineral content is as high as two grams per liter. This has a pernicious impact on the state of reclamation of irrigated land, reduces the size of the cotton yield, and kills orchards. The cause: mass runoff of drainage water from farms in Surkhan-Darya, Kashka-Darya, Bukhara, and Chardzhou Oblasts. This cannot continue. There must be a concerted effort of neighboring oblasts to accelerate the construction of special collectors for tapping drainage water.

The problem of finding jobs for the able-bodied population still remains. At the present time, there are about 80,000 persons in the oblast who must be drawn into the sphere of social labor. And this at a time when other regions of the nation do not have enough manpower and are even postponing the siting of new enterprises there. Why then not develop them in our oblast? Alas, the ministries are not keen on this idea. The planning and construction of these enterprises are protracted in the cities of Urgench and Druzhba. Production areas at the Urgench Fodder Harvester Plant in Urgench and at other enterprises are not being used with the result that hundreds of young workers trained at the PTU are forced to find jobs anywhere they can.

The orientation toward stimulating work, which is being affirmed in party organizations, is being transmitted to work collectives. Another evidence of this is the ever intensifying competition for a worthy greeting for the all-union party conference.

Selection of Conference Delegates Criticized
PM2405101188 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 22 May 88 p 2

["Letter to the Editors" from L. Amelkina, CPSU member and senior laboratory assistant at Moscow State University's Soil Science Faculty: "The Public Disagrees!"]

[Text] Whom are we electing to the 19th party conference? Who will debate there the fate of restructuring, and who will determine its paths?

It turns out that we do not know who. We have not been asked about this. Everything proceeded so quickly and smoothly at our Moscow State University [MGU] that primary party organizations learned of the candidates put forward only after they had been nominated.

The MGU Party Committee instructed the faculty party bureaus urgently to discuss within their organizations the candidacies nominated for the 19th all-union party conference. At the same time, the party committee also proposed the candidacies themselves—the rector of the MGU and the secretary of the MGU party committee. Almost all the faculty party bureaus "discussed and approved" this in the usual efficient manner. In certain cases additional candidacies were proposed, and dissatisfaction was expressed with the limited time for discussion.

But the candidates were nominated!

And an impression of total well-being was created. But, hold on, the party meeting at the Economics Faculty condemned the election procedure and, hold on, the Biology Faculty and the Mechanics and Mathematics Faculty also refused to conduct a "discussion" in such a form.

And it was in such a mood, or suspecting nothing at all, that the Communists of the Soil Science Faculty went to a routine meeting 18 May. And suddenly, on a proposal from the hall, a new item was included on the agenda—"on the nomination of candidates for the 19th party conference." It is impossible in a letter to describe everything that happened during those 4-odd hours. I can say one thing—there was a breath of restructuring! The meeting condemned the procedure for nominating candidates for the 19th party conference proposed by the MGU party committee as violating the norms of internal party democracy and running counter to the spirit of democratization and glasnost. The meeting deemed the results of the candidates' nomination invalid, and by a majority of votes Professor A.M. Yemelyanov, corresponding member of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, a pedagogue liked by students, and a man of restructuring, was nominated as the candidate from among the four candidacies proposed.

Why am I turning to your newspaper? Because all this is happening in the university before the eyes of students, postgraduates, and young Communists, yesterday's Komsomol members.

Letters View Party Conference Proposals
WA18120075 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 17, 1-8 May 88 pp 8,9

[Letters column under the rubric: "What I'd Say From the Rostrum of the 19th Party Conference"]

[Text] More Glasnost [subhead]

I want to support the view of metro builder Alexander Sukhanov (MN No 12): information about statements at Plenary Meetings of the CPSU Central Committee and meetings of the Politburo should be given on the broadest possible scale—preferably in the same detail as is given from Congresses of the CPSU. The same also applies to Republican, regional and other Party organizations. V.D. Leleko, Leningrad.

One Post at a Time [subhead]

The role of the Soviets must be enhanced. Today they show little activity and make poor progress in restructuring their work. Take ours, for one. Our ShSU-2 (Mine Building Administration) of the Prokopyevskshakhtstroi trust decided in connection with the introduction of cost accounting, to raise rents fourfold. I live in a hostel. Previously I paid six roubles for a bed, now they wanted to make me pay 25 roubles. How do you like that? People pay 20 roubles for a three-room well-appointed apartment! We tenants went to the City Executive Committee, but there they simply waved us aside. And only after we wrote a letter to the CPSU Central Committee, the rent-raising scheme was given up.

I agree with the proposal of Boris Kurashvili, LLD, in your paper on the establishment of a public organization whose membership would compromise those who do not belong either to the Communist Party or Komsomol. People, after all, must have a channel through which to voice their views and opinions. This organization should assist the Party in building socialism.

And one more thing. The Party Rules must have a ruling that from now on one person should not hold several Party and state posts at a time. Otherwise it will again lead to grave consequences, as was the case with Stalin, Khrushchev and Brezhnev. And again it will be the people who will suffer. Ivan Istomin, worker, Prokopyevsk.

We Need Regional Geoeological Centers [subhead]

The ecological calamities of our time have shown that people and nature must be seen as an indivisible whole. To begin with, there is a need for corresponding information so that every sufficiently serious act and every managerial decision be consonant with this concept of a "whole". This information must not be fragmentary and incidental, but complete and concrete. Today we have no one who possesses this sort of information, not even the local authorities—the soviets.

I suggest setting up regional geoeological centers in charge of collecting the corresponding information, and also formulating or checking the concepts of nature utilization, handing over (wherever possible and/or advisable) separate local natural resources to government departments and organizations for temporary use, and strictly controlling the organization of this work.

I see this as a key issue to be discussed at the Party Conference. If need be, I will undertake a detailed elaboration of it, using the territory in which I have lived for more than 30 years—the far north-east of the USSR—as an example. A.I. Sadovsky, Magadan.

Power and Justice [subhead]

Much has been said about the consequences of Stalin's personality cult, but later on the country, whole republics and regions became gripped by a similar malady as well. The objective cause of cults, both large and small, is the principle of one-man rule. It is not a secret, after all, that the power, for instance, of the first secretary of the district or regional Party committee is not limited by anything. In any event, if he wants to, a secretary can secure the removal from "his own" territory of any official, or interfere in any affair, including legal ones. The reason for this is the absence of clear-cut legal restrictions. Everything remains on the leader's conscience. Is this reasonable? Is this in keeping with the scientific principles of administration? There is a need to formulate and adopt statutes on Party committees of different levels, and to legally define—from "A" to "Z"—their functions and rights. Under socialism, there should be no bodies either outside the law or above it.

An equally important social issue is that of privileges. Why should a district or city Party committee instructor, a trade boss or plant director enjoy the privilege of having more comfortable flats, special privileges in the provision of foodstuffs, hospitals and even cemeteries? The system of privileges is capable of undermining the moral foundation of our system and is one of the chief obstacles in the way of perestroika. Under socialism, only children, the sick and the aged can be privileged categories. For all the rest there must be distribution according to work, and then only in terms of money. G. Bochkov, war and labor veteran, member of the CPSU since 1944, Krasnodar.

No Need for Domicile Registration [subhead]

I want to submit for consideration by the 19th Party Conference a proposal on the abolition of the domicile registration system. The restriction of the right to live wherever you want is, I believe, incompatible with democratization. It's a different matter that this right should not mean that a person can demand that housing be given to him in no time wherever he decides to live.

I suggest: The right to housing (or better housing) should belong to people who have lived in the given city for less than 15 years (with time this term can be cut or abolished altogether). On this condition an influx of people to big cities need not be feared.

The lifting of restrictions linked to domicile registration will be a humane act. It will come in handy for people, for example, who have lost relatives and are in need of intensive care. If their housing conditions are good, their

relatives or friends will be able to live with them permanently, helping them and brightening up their lonely existence. B. Knabengof, Leningrad.

Self-Nomination [subhead]

I deem it expedient to introduce self-nomination of candidates for deputies as the main principle in the practice of elections to soviets. It is desirable, besides, that the candidate should simultaneously put forward a specific programme.

A thought should be given also to modifying the procedure of elections to the Republican Supreme Soviets and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. I think it would be more correct to pass over from direct elections, i.e., that deputies to the lower soviets should elect deputies to the Supreme Soviets of the Republics and the USSR. G. Simin, Moscow.

Muscovites on Limiting Gorbachev Term of Office
LD2505030488 Moscow in English to North America
2200 GMT 24 May 88

[Passages within quotation marks recorded in Russian, fading into superimposed English translation]

[Text] [Announcer] General Secretary Gorbachev has supported the proposal to limit the term of office for senior Communist Party officials. He said this in a recent interview for THE WASHINGTON POST and NEWSWEEK and Soviet dailies have been publishing letters with similar suggestions. But will this affect Mikhail Gorbachev himself? Radio Moscow's reporter asked people in Moscow's streets and here is what he heard:

[First unidentified speaker] I'm strongly in favor of limiting the time a general secretary can remain in office, say to five years. If the people support him, they'll ask him to stay. This will only increase his authority."

[Second unidentified speaker] "I don't think there should be any exceptions for anyone."

[Third unidentified speaker] "It's my opinion that this should not apply to Gorbachev. I have confidence in him."

[Fourth unidentified speaker] "Gorbachev must accomplish what he plans first. If he continues acting in the interests of the people after that, I won't mind if he remains general secretary the rest of his life."

[Fifth unidentified speaker] "Gorbachev must remain much longer than one or two terms. Even if we had God Almighty as general secretary he would need more than two terms to rejuvenate an economy that has in effect been devastated for decades."

[Sixth unidentified speaker] "Restrictions on the general secretary's tenure of office should apply to everybody, including Gorbachev. Otherwise, it would be a violation of democracy."

Moldavian Plenum Says Potential Not Exploited
PM2405105788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 May 88 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Satisfying People's Needs"]

[Text] Kishinev, 20 May — A Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee plenum held today discussed progress in carrying out the Comprehensive Program for the Development of Consumer Goods Production and the Services Sphere in the Moldavian SSR in 1986-2000 and the republic party, soviet, and economic organs tasks in building up the output of consumer goods and the volumes of paid services.

The speeches noted that there has been no fundamental breakthrough in the republic in implementing the comprehensive program for goods and services and that existing potential for increasing goods resources and paid services is not being fully exploited. Mention was made of increasing the responsibility of Communists and the leaders of soviet and economic organs, enterprises, and organizations for resolving the task set by the 27th CPSU Congress of steadily improving the prosperity of working people and more fully satisfying their needs. Specific ways of ensuring the effectiveness of this work were outlined.

Delegates were elected to the 19th all-union party conference. Taking part in the plenum's work were S.K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee; and L.F. Bobykin, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Light Industry and Consumer Goods Department.

Komsomol Plenum Proceedings Reported
PM2405103788 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 88 p 1

[Information Report on Third Plenum of Komsomol Central Committee and Central Council of All-Union Young Pioneer Organization Named for V.I. Lenin"—KOMSMOLSKAYA PRAVDA headline]

[Excerpts] A plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee and the Central Council of the All-Union Young Pioneer Organization named for V.I. Lenin was held in Moscow 16 May to examine the question "On the Tasks of Komsomol and Young Pioneer Organizations Stemming From the Decisions of the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum." [passage omitted]

It was stressed at the plenum that the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum and its decisions are of enormous significance for Soviet youth. The

party's course of socialist renewal reflects the young generation's fundamental interests and gives wide scope to the inquisitiveness, initiative, and creativity of young men and women.

Plenum participants noted that the efforts of many Komsomol and Young Pioneer organizations have been creating since the 20th Komsomol Congress the conditions necessary for active involvement of young people in democratization, the implementation of radical economic reform, and the restructuring of public education.

Komsomol committees have pursued a more determined struggle to cleanse the Komsomol of everything alien to its nature and to establish an atmosphere of frankness, principledness, and healthy criticism in Komsomol organizations.

However, the enormous creative potential of young people, the Komsomol, and the Young Pioneer organization is not being fully realized. Conservatism, inertia, and stereotypical old thinking retain their force in the youth milieu and among some Komsomol and Young Pioneer cadres. Restructuring in the Komsomol and Young Pioneer organization is proceeding with difficulty. Loss of contact with young people, lack of faith in the maturity of young people's aspirations and actions, hedging, and waiting for instructions "from above" are perceptible.

Collaboration between Komsomol and Young Pioneer organizations and families, preschool establishments, educational institutions, and organizations and departments engaged in raising the upcoming generation is very weak.

The resolution adopted stresses that it is particularly important today to help every Komsomol member and young person to understand better the changes that have begun in society, to appreciate the essence and purpose of restructuring, and to become an active participant in it. Komsomol committees must unite young people on the basis of the ideology of renewal, explain the Leninist concept of socialism, actively support youth initiative, help young people acquire experience of personal participation in restructuring and the struggle against conservatism, nihilism, and social apathy, bolster the decency of young people, eradicate the mentality of unthinking execution, and develop the best human qualities.

Komsomol and Young Pioneer organizations must become the first school of democracy, self-management, and true Komsomol comradeship for young men and women and Young Pioneers.

Komsomol committees and Young Pioneer organization councils must convincingly propagate the experience of cooperation among pupils, students, and teachers and seek to increase the involvement of young men and

women in managing educational institutions and the planning and organization of the educational process, and defend the interests of pupils and young students.

The plenum participants expressed their support for the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum and the speech delivered there by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The plenum firmly expressed its support for the party line of deepening restructuring and directed Komsomol organizations to actively participate in preparations for the 19th all-union party conference.

The Komsomol Central Committee plenum also examined an information report on the activity of the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau and Secretariat since the 20th Komsomol Congress.

The plenum approved the following Komsomol Central Committee normative documents: an instruction "On Holding the Election of Leading Komsomol Organs" and a statute "On the Auditing Commissions of Republic, Kray, Oblast, Okrug, City, Rayon, and Primary Komsomol Organizations." The plenum also discussed the draft statute "On Komsomol Monetary Resources" and instructed the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau to revise it in the light of comments and proposals received from the country's Komsomol organizations and to ratify it by 1 July this year.

The Komsomol Central Committee plenum examined organizational questions.

The plenum promoted S. Ivkina, pupil at the city of Solnechnogorsk's No 2 Secondary School, Moscow Oblast, from candidate to full member of the Komsomol Central Committee.

The plenum removed T. Giorgadze and V. Shakin from candidate membership of the Komsomol Central Committee in connection with their reassignment.

V. Petrov, first secretary of the Chuvash Komsomol Obkom, and E. Shambu, second secretary of the Georgian Komsomol Central Committee, were elected candidate members of the Komsomol Central Committee by the plenum.

The Komsomol Central Committee plenum adopted a decision on staffing the Komsomol Central Committee's standing and special commissions.

The following took part in the plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee and the Central Council of the Young Pioneer Organization Named for V.I. Lenin: V.A. Grigoryev, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Science and Educational Institutions Department; Yu.A. Sklyarov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department; V.G. Volchikhin, section chief in the CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work

Department; G.P. Veselov, RSFSR minister of education; A.V. Fedulova, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee; senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee; leaders of ministries, departments, and public organizations; first secretaries of Komsomol obkoms and kraykoms; second secretaries of union republic Komsomol central committees; assistant chiefs of political directorates and political departments of branches and categories of the Armed Forces, districts, groups of forces and fleets in charge of Komsomol work who are not members of Komsomol central elected bodies; secretaries of union republic Komsomol central committees and Komsomol kraykoms and obkoms who are chairmen of Young Pioneer organization councils; chairmen of Young Pioneer organization councils; and representatives of the mass media.

Runaway Freight Train Crashes in Kiev

PM2405133388 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 22 May 88 p 4

[Correspondent A. Savinov report: "Train Crash"]

[Text] Kiev — At 0400 on 20 May Vitaliy Shulga, a diesel switching locomotive engineer, pressed the lever with his usual movement and felt the train start to move.

At the same time Nikolay Gurskiy, maker-up of trains at Kiev-Volynskiy Station, coupled the train. Now he waited calmly for the long line of cars to rumble past him.

Ordinary, everyday work, movements which have become automatic—what unexpected things could happen? It was only when the cars had disappeared in the distant predawn haze that Gurskiy felt a vague alarm.

Then it dawned on him: Instead of the 25 cars laid down in the instruction, Gurskiy had coupled 57. Moreover, he had not connected the train's air braking system. And Shulga, taking a cursory glance at the manometer, had not checked whether or not the train was ready to start.

Meanwhile, the freight train was running downhill with increasing velocity. But the greatest danger was posed by the fact that these "uncontrollable tons" were rushing toward Kiev Station, which is crowded with people at any time of day or night.

All the rest happened very quickly: Shulga reported by radio that the train was not obeying his commands. A diesel locomotive at once set out in pursuit to help with braking. The Kiev Railroad Station's services hastily freed one of the tracks, and the heavy freight train sped past the platform, enveloping surprised passengers in a biting wind. Now it was to be met by special brake shoes set up on the rails ahead.

But it was not possible to envisage everything. Having finished its work on distant tracks, an electric switching locomotive came out onto the main branch-line.... And

the uncontrollable freight train smashed into it at full speed. Fortunately, there were no casualties. The engineers were safe and even escaped serious injury. But the cars "concertinaed" on impact, 4 electricity pylons were demolished, 800 meters of track was damaged, and 33 cars were derailed and overturned.

Who is to blame for what happened? Diesel locomotive engineer Shulga and train maker-up Gurskiy. This was the conclusion reached by the commission which investigated the causes of the accident. It was their indiscipline and negligence that were the chief cause of that occurrence.

Economic

Gusev, Others Attend Talk on Chemical Industry

LD2105211388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1400 GMT 21 May 88

[Text] A conference took place today at the CPSU Central Committee. The participants examined the course of implementing the comprehensive program for developing the chemical industry on a national level, party and government decisions on developing the chemical complex, and tasks aimed at implementing the program. The conference was opened by Comrade Slyunkov. Comrade Gusev gave a report on the program's implementation. Comrades Batalin and Silayev presented reports.

Speaking at the conference, Comrade Baklanov stressed that the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo attach great importance to the dynamic development of the chemical industry. The CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers are now preparing a decision on the development of the chemical industry in the 13th 5-Year Plan and beyond. In the coming 2 years, levels must be attained that will make it possible to achieve in the chemical complex considerably higher comparative rates of growth in the coming 5-year plan.

Baklanov Faults Shortages

LD2105194888 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 21 May 88

[Text] A secretary of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee has said that the shortage of advanced chemical materials and manufactures is a major brake on the development of the country's production forces. At a meeting of the party's Central Committee, Oleg Baklanov criticized a number of ministries and agencies for delaying the construction of chemical plants vital to the economy.

'Act First, Think Later' Style Called 'Farcical'
PM2005140088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 May 88 Second Edition p 2

[Letter from A. Malakov of Pavlograd, Dnepropetrovskaya Oblast, under the rubric "From the Economic Department's Mail": "Tired of Words"]

[Text] The aim of restructuring in our country is not only the democratization of Soviet society, but also the implementation of profound economic and social transformations and the radical improvement of Soviet people's life.

As for democracy, we can clearly see the results of restructuring. There is more glasnost and freedom, debates and polemics have emerged, a struggle against bureaucratic administration has begun.... The picture is different in the economic sphere. However hard they try to convince us that there have been improvements here, it is hard to believe it.

Even to someone who is not an economist it is clear that the economy is not about to quicken its pace purely because of mechanically introduced economic accountability and self-financing. Really radical economic reforms are needed.

Our economists have not thought through the transition period. Because of all kinds of disorders, many workers and employees suffered a loss of earnings, which cannot fail to affect their mood.

There is still much voluntarism and confusion. I am not against cooperatives and individual activity. But before putting it into practice, we should study, look at how things are organized abroad, and draw conclusions. But as before, with us, people act first and think later. The result is often farcical. Instead of cooperatives and individual activity supplementing state organizations, competing with them, and helping to reduce prices and improve the quality of goods and services, they are gradually crowding out state enterprises altogether, becoming a monopoly.

A. Malakov,

Pavlograd, Dnepropetrovskaya Oblast.

Briefs

Data on Cooperatives

The number of cooperatives in the Soviet Union has come close to 20,000. Most of them have been set up in the past year. At present 246,000 people are engaged in cooperative activity. The figures were released by the national service of statistic. [as heard] In conditions of the current economic reform cooperative activity is being encouraged in public services and catering and in

the production of consumer goods. A new law on cooperative activity has been drafted. The draft, which has already been discussed nationwide, will be submitted to a session of the Supreme Soviet opening next week. The draft notably broadens the rights of cooperatives. For example, they will have an opportunity to establish direct business contacts with foreign partners. [Text] [LD2005023488 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 19 May 88]

Agricultural

Food Program's Plans, Achievements Noted
LD2505051788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0400 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] It has been 6 years today since the CPSU Central Committee May 1982 Plenum adopted the country's Food Program. How is it being implemented? What amendments have been made to it over this period? I will ask our commentator Aleksandr Ruvinskiy to talk about this.

[Ruvinskiy] Let me remind you first of all that this program began to be implemented on 1 January 1983 and, generally speaking, over this period a certain increase in the country's meat production has been achieved. We have now attained a pace in milk production that will allow us to fulfill the Food Program on this product. But on such products as vegetables and fruit, in terms of per capita consumption, a noticeable lag behind the scheduled figures outlined by the program can still be observed.

If you speak about the production of grain, which chiefly goes for fodder, then here too there is a lag. In this 5-year plan, its average annual production should have reached 250-225 million tonnes.

The Food Program envisioned important economic measures to raise kolkhoz and sovkhoz production profitability. At the time the program was adopted, virtually all agricultural production was on the verge of being unprofitable. The introduction of new purchase prices and also certain organizational measures made it possible in 1983 to raise the profitability of agricultural production to 19 percent. Well, generally speaking, that is less than is necessary for normal, expanded reproduction. Nevertheless, it was a big step forward. Unfortunately, the level of profitability then grew hardly at all. Now there are still several thousand unprofitable kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the country, though the Food Program envisioned their complete elimination.

Over these years no few amendments have been made to the program itself. If you remember, in 1983 the so-called RAPO's [rayon agro-industrial associations] and the oblast agro-industrial associations which comprised enterprises of various departments, which produced and processed agricultural produce, and which provided services for agriculture, were set up in the country. Life then

confirmed the correctness of such a reorganization and it was later continued on another level. The State Agro-Industrial Committee was set up, which unites six different departments.

Now, the center of all work in the countryside is being transferred to primary collectives such as teams and sections set up on a contractual basis, and the work is according to the lease method. Recent practice has shown their exceptionally high efficiency and the possibility of sharply raising labor productivity on the basis of these collectives.

Here is one other thing about which I would like to speak. We have begun to pay far more attention to our processing industry. Here lie enormous reserves for increasing the consumption of produce by the country's population. After all, it is because of shortcomings in processing that we have lost a huge part of the most valuable products, precisely those which are in short supply in the shops. These are meat, milk, vegetables, and fruit.

Additional measures have been adopted for the manufacture of processing equipment and for the construction of special storehouses, though it is true that this work is only just really beginning. It is, of course, also unlikely that it will be fulfilled completely before the year 1990, that is, over the period for which the Food Program was calculated.

Goskomstat Cites Spring Sowing Progress
PM2405124988 Moscow *SELSKAYA ZHIZN* in
Russian 21 May 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "USSR State Committee for Statistics Report"]

[Text] By 16 May spring crops had been sown in the country over an area of 77.7 million hectares—55 percent of the plan. Sowing of spring wheat got under way on a massive scale in the Volga Region, in the Urals, in Siberia and in Kazakhstan. Spring cereals are also being sown in the RSFSR non-Chernozem Zone.

Potato planting, vegetable sowing, and transplantation of vegetables seedlings; the seed drills are still out on the sunflower and corn plantations. The tending of row crops is expanding. Mowing of grass crops has begun in Central Asia, in the southern Ukraine, in Moldavia, in the North Caucasus, and in parts of the Southern Volga Region.

Scientific

Scientist Urges Cooperation on Mars Project
DW250945 Moscow *International Service in German*
1600 GMT 17 May 88

[Talk by Roald Sagdeyev, member of the Academy of Sciences]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Scientists have the greatest ability to foresee the consequences of our civilization's irresponsible activities. They have the knowledge necessary to avoid thoughtless steps. I would welcome cooperation of scientists from all sides when it comes to designing, for example, a vehicle for landing on Mars. The Americans might be the best at developing artificial intelligence. And we Russians might be able to supply the best manufacturing technology for such a vehicle. A prototype was recently used to clear the roof of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant of debris. Whatever decision about Mars we may make, it is proper for scientists to pass their knowledge to others, making it common knowledge. We cannot solve today's problems without using the best brains. If we cannot protect our earth, then mankind will have little chance to explore other worlds.

Flight Control Center Created With Bulgaria
LD2205162188 Moscow *TASS International Service*
in Russian 0635 GMT 22 May 88

[Text] Sofia, 22 May (TASS)—A Bulgarian center for tracking the joint Soviet-Bulgarian space flight has been set up in the town of Stara Zagora.

According to the newspaper *ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME*, the holding of so-called communications "training sessions" has already started there. All information relating to the carrying out of the "Shipka" research program will be received through an established direct audio-visual channel.

Acting in conjunction with the "Rozhen" astronomical complex, the center at Stara Zagora will begin work as soon as the spaceship is launched, and will finish when the joint crew has returned to earth.

A working group of Soviet specialists from the Moscow Flight Control Center will arrive in Stara Zagora in the coming days. According to Petko Gaydarov, the head of the Bulgarian center, they will help work out the details of the joint work associated with the simultaneous reception of full information about all the experiments planned to be conducted in space.

International Space Symposium Opens in Japan
LD2405100288 Moscow *TASS in English* 0852 GMT
24 May 88

[Text] Tokyo May 24 TASS—The equipment of permanent scientific stations with rotating crews on the Moon, manned flights to Mars and other projects which still seem fantastic are centerpiece to the participants in the 16th International Symposium on Space Science and Technology.

This authoritative scientific forum opened in the city of Sapporo, the administrative center of the north Japanese island of Hokkaido, Monday. It brought together more

than six hundred eminent specialists, scientific workers, representatives of leading institutes and laboratories from 17 countries, among them the Soviet Union.

At the five-day symposium they will evaluate the latest advances in space science and technology, exchange views on promising directions in the research in this area.

Heat, Mass Transfer Forum Begins in Minsk
LD2405095388 Moscow TASS in English 0840 GMT
24 May 88

[Text] Minsk May 24 TASS—Scientists from twenty countries assembled in the capital of Belorussia where an international scientific forum on the problems of heat and mass transfer opened today.

Soviet and foreign scientists, among them eminent theoreticians, James Hartnett, head of the Energy Resources Center of Illinois University, and Thomas Irvine, an honorary professor of New York University, will deliver reports at plenary sessions and at sessions of sections.

The research into energy, heat and mass transfer is impossible at the current stage without an integration of the scientific forces, said V. Dragun, learned secretary of the Heat and Mass Transfer Institute of the Belorussian Academy of Sciences. The Minsk forum is held in the run-up to the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting. The latest decisions made by the two countries' leaders and aimed at boosting economic and scientific cooperation allow one to hope that such contacts will be extended and become permanent.

Military

Yazov Addresses GSFG Party Conference
PM2405185588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 25 May 88 First Edition p 3

[Report by Colonel A. Vasilets and Lieutenant I. Kosenko: "Asserting Restructuring by Deeds: From the Party Conference of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany"]

[Text] How are the Communists in the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG] approaching the 19th all-union party conference? How are the style and forms of party work being improved under conditions of heightened demands on the individual, and under conditions of glasnost and the democratization of Army life? What specific steps must be taken to further deepen restructuring in light of the demands of the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent party Central Committee plenums? These questions were the center of attention at the GSFG party conference. In the report of the group's commander in chief, Army General B.V. Snetkov, and in the speeches of Colonel General N.A. Moseyev, member of the Military Council and chief of the GSFG Political Directorate, Guards Lieutenant Colonel V.V. Pavlov,

Senior Sergeant Ye.N. Bakhmutov, and other delegates, there was an exacting discussion of ways to step up the political, organizational, and ideological-educational activity of party organizations in the interests of enhancing the combat readiness of the subunits and units, and of strengthening organization and military discipline.

Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, participated in the work of the party conference and spoke at it.

The GSFG party conference, he said, is an important milestone in the life of party organizations and each GSFG Communist. It sums up, as it were, the result of the great work performed on many planes by the commanders, political organs, and party organizations on implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and on mobilizing the Communists and the entire personnel for greeting the 19th all-union party conference in a fitting manner.

Restructuring has entered our life as a matter for the whole party, for all the people. It is an urgent and pressing business that has sprung from the profound processes of the development of socialist society. The aim of restructuring, both in theory and practice, is to fully restore the Leninist concept of socialism. Today we are at the second, decisive stage of restructuring, the stage of the practical realization of adopted decisions. We are also approaching a very important phase of restructuring—the 19th all-union party conference. Life convinces us of the correctness of the path which we are following.

We now have both a theoretical concept and a specific program of restructuring. An atmosphere of readiness has been created to accelerate the country's movement forward. The essential theoretical and political groundwork has been done in the form of specific party and state documents.

The country's decisive turn toward democratization has made it possible to make definite improvements in the development of the national economy and in the solution of social and economic tasks. Day by day, our state's international prestige is growing. This is cogently indicated by the results of the meetings between M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and U.S. President R. Reagan, the signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, and other documents of historic significance.

However, the situation in the world remains complex and contradictory. Imperialist reaction is resisting the improvement of the international political climate and is clinging to obsolete stereotypes and dogmas. We must solve creative tasks, Army General D.T. Yazov stressed, under conditions of a persisting military danger. Therefore, the Communist Party is not relaxing the attention it

pays to strengthening the country's defense capability. It is making the greatest demands on the Armed Forces and it expresses firm confidence that in the present complex international situation, the servicemen of the Army and Navy will operate with the greatest responsibility, persistently improve combat skill, strengthen combat readiness, and reliably ensure the security of the motherland and of the countries of the socialist community.

Special responsibility for the fulfillment of these demands rests with the military councils, the command and political cadres, the political organs, the staffs, the party organizations, and all Communists.

Many GSFG party organizations, and above all those in the management sphere, have yet to show themselves to be generators of restructuring. The final results during the winter training period remain low in certain formations and units.

The defense minister dwelt on problems of improving the quality of alert duty and offered specific recommendations for the firm establishment among the military collectives of an atmosphere of great activity, organization, and performance.

It is essential, he stressed, to acknowledge frankly and in a party-minded manner that among GSFG troops, a radical restructuring has still not come about in the organization of combat training. The basic reasons here lie, as before, in the low methodological standard of the training sessions being held and in the frequent, unfounded diversion of personnel away from combat training. Indulgence and oversimplification remain ingrained. The influence of a whole series of Communists who are leaders, and of political organs and party organizations upon the state of combat training remains rather ineffective. Formalism in socialist competition is being overcome at an extremely slow rate.

All this points to the existence among GSFG troops of stagnation phenomena, low performance, and conservatism in thinking on the part of some Communists, including those at the leadership level. Such serious shortcomings are, of course, intolerable.

In the enhancement of the quality of combat training the party organizations have an important role to play. They are obliged to resolutely elevate the responsibility of the Communists, improve the style of their activity, and focus attention on active work with the men, the organization of the practical implementation of decisions that are being adopted and of plans that have been outlined, on the eradication of formalism, stereotypes, oversimplification, and indulgence regarding the training and education of the men.

The center of gravity of all work must lie in the primary party organizations where the political line is directly implemented, and where the human factor operates in

practice. They permeate the whole of our military structure. They constitute a great force. The process of restructuring must be deepened precisely here, above all on the path of the further enhancement of the militancy, initiative, and activeness of the primary party organizations, party committees, and bureaus, and of all Communists, and of their vanguard role. This is the main link which ought to be taken up properly.

The task of ensuring that Communist officers set an example is exceptionally topical for the party organizations today. Political organs and party organizations must keep this task at the focus of attention and take effective steps for the unconditional fulfillment of this task.

Army General D.T. Yazov, speaking about the state of military discipline, organization, and order among the troops of the GSFG stressed in particular that certain positive improvements have been achieved primarily through administrative pressure. But, as is known, the method of administrative pressure is not capable of properly providing firm and stable results. At the same time, the absence of necessary systems in political-educational work frequently leads to relapses. Efforts must be concentrated on the deeply rooted foundations of discipline, the basis of which is consciousness. They must increase the sociopolitical activeness of the men, and they must persistently assert regulation order everywhere and solve social problems in an enterprising and creative manner.

The energy of certain political organs, staffs, and party organizations is frequently directed not toward preventing violations of the law, but toward the compilation of favorable statistics. This can no longer be tolerated. Active preventive work, the formation of healthy public opinion, and irreconcilability toward violations of military discipline, and toward any deviations from our morality and from regulation order are needed.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet people demand that we eliminate negative phenomena in the Army milieu which damage combat readiness and the prestige of the Armed Forces. These demands must be fulfilled. The time of talk and assurances is past. Practical steps and real results are essential. People can be assessed on the basis of such results. There are no other criteria.

The defense minister dwelt in detail on questions of the party leadership of the Komsomol. All we Communists, he said, must change our approach to work with young people. We need to rid ourselves as quickly and decisively as possible of didacticism [nazidatelstvo] and administrative methods. The energy of the Komsomol must be channeled in a useful direction. It is better to know young people, to grant them more independence, to educate them by trust and responsibility, to support initiative and creativity, and to foster the enthusiasm

connected with preparations for the 70th anniversary of the Komsomol. Young people must be solicitously turned into real Communists.

Speaking of the democratization of the life of Army collectives, the enhancement of the role of the party, Komsomol, trade union, and other social organizations, Army Gen D.T. Yazov stressed that in the Armed Forces, democratization undoubtedly has many specific features. It presupposes the inseparability, the fusion of sole responsibility, regulation order, firm discipline, and a high degree of organization and executive performance with the broad participation of the public and of the personnel in the affairs of the military collectives.

Democracy under Army conditions presupposes the closeness of commanders and chiefs to their subordinates, a knowledge of their interests, requirements, and needs, daily concern for them, the ability to support their initiative and interest in the common general success, and to react correctly to criticism and to assess their own actions critically. It is essential to elevate to a higher level the activity of the comradely courts of honor of officers and ensigns, and of the general meetings of servicemen, women's councils, and people's control organs. All of us need to learn to live and work under conditions of democratization and glasnost.

In conclusion, the USSR defense minister, Army Gen D.T. Yazov, noted that fulfilling the party's demands of the Communists of the Armed Forces and of all military cadres means asserting restructuring by deeds, by achieving concrete results in the improvement of the quality of the troops' training, and in enhancing the combat readiness of the Armed Forces.

The participants in the conference elected delegates to the 19th all-union party conference.

Attending the conference were V.I. Kochemasov, CPSU Central Committee member and USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR; Marshal of the Soviet Union N.V. Ogarkov, CPSU Central Committee member; and A.N. Soshnikov, deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department."

Preparations for All-Union Conference Detailed
PM1905143588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in
Russian 19 May 88 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "At the Stage of Specific Deeds"]

[Excerpts] Little more than a month separates us from the 19th all-union party conference. The preparations for it are marked by transformations in every sphere of the economy, social development, education, and culture outlined by the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent party Central Committee plenums. The policy of restructuring, the policy of renewal of a truly revolutionary

nature is being implemented in a situation of the democratization of all aspects of life and the broadening of glasnost aimed at emancipating the creative potential and initiative of the people's masses.

Commanders, political organs, and party committees and bureaus are conducting a vigorous search for unused reserves in combat training, competition, the strengthening of discipline, and the rallying of multinational military collectives. During the period of preparations for the party conference there has been an appreciable increase in the activeness of Communist leaders and their responsibility for the level of combat readiness of units and ships, and a search is being made for new approaches to ensuring that every Communist sets an example in military labor and discipline. [passage omitted]

Yet many party organizations have not yet managed to fully display militancy, ensure that word and deed coincide, or achieve a real increase in their influence on the resolution of key tasks. Dogmatic thinking, the habit of stereotypes, and fear of the new are hindrances. There is still a lack of clear, effective work with every CPSU member and candidate member. Unfortunately, far from all Communists take an active stance in life, and not all advance the cause of restructuring in practice. Even in the new situation certain elected party organs and their secretaries act in the old way, sluggishly, circumspectly, awaiting instructions or coordinating even simple questions with higher officials several times over.

In the course of party committee and bureau reports on the leadership of restructuring sharp criticism was leveled, for example, at Communists Lieutenant Colonel V. Bykov and Major A. Shkurin, who failed to rid themselves of stereotypes of the past or to see the living person behind the papers. Both have been denied the trust to head party organizations. These and other facts convincingly show that the overwhelming majority of party collectives do not wish to tolerate inactivity or an indifferent attitude toward restructuring.

The organization of socialist competition is in need of greater party attention today. It is a task of paramount importance to completely rid it of the fetters of formalism and of everything that hinders the activation of the human factor and the achievement of a real increase in the combat readiness of subunits, units, and ships. Personal example in fulfilling pledges in the competition in honor of the 19th all-union party conference, professional competence, and the state of affairs in the entrusted sector should be considered the specific indicator of the Communist's involvement in restructuring and of his party awareness and responsibility.

The CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum demanded that all Communists persistently master the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the ideology and practice of restructuring. It is the direct duty of Army and Navy party organizations to foster modern thinking in

people, support and disseminate the practice of holding interviews with Communists and theoretical and practical scientific conferences, and mobilize the activity of all agitation and propaganda means. In striving for unity of thought and action in servicemen, it is important to notice in good time everything new resulting from restructuring.

Action and, again, action—this is what the interests of restructuring demand of every Army and Navy Communist today whether it is a question of combat and political training, strengthening organization and discipline, shaping a healthy atmosphere and public opinion, the social sphere, or the assertion of regulation order. It is necessary to consolidate in party organizations an atmosphere of the businesslike and truly collective resolution of urgent problems and to ensure that ballyhoo and bragging give way to an open exchange of opinions and a critical and constructive examination of the essence of issues.

Delegates to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference from Army and Navy party organizations are being elected at plenums of union republic communist party central committees and of party kraykoms and obkoms, and at party conferences in the groups of forces. This stage of the preparations for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference is a very important political test for Army and Navy Communists. More active use must be made of the remaining time to give new substance to all party practice of deepening restructuring.

Army's 'Indifference' to Veterans Criticized
PM2405132388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 May 88 First Edition p 3

["PRAVDA Military Department" review of readers' letters under the rubric "We Serve the Soviet Union!":
"What Has Happened to Us?"]

[Text] It would be naive to assume that our Army was not affected by the negative processes which flourished during the stagnation period. After all, even F. Engels emphasized repeatedly that an army reflects the society it serves. Quite a few problems have come to light in the Army and the Navy recently. Violations of the norms of social justice, exaggerated and false reporting, protectionism, abuses of official position.... Evidence of this is contained in letters from garrisons, which we have been receiving in ever-increasing numbers recently.

Many of them speak of the indifference which, like rust, has started affecting troop collectives. This is alarming, because we all have been raised on the image of the "man with the rifle," strong and good, who will always come to your aid in times of trouble.

"Don't push my letter aside," L. Ilina, party veteran and personal pensioner, wrote to the editorial office from Sverdlovsk. "This is not an ordinary letter, it is, to use a trite expression, a cry from the heart.

"My husband died at the front in the battles for the liberation of Budapest. I spent decades looking for his grave. It was finally ascertained through the Red Cross Society that he was buried in Budapest. Despite my age, I decided to take a trip there—to honor the remains of a soldier who gave his life for the motherland.

"On the train an officer told me how to get to the military commandant's office. But I was not allowed any further than the lobby. A young, smartly dressed woman came out and, without greeting me, declared in a short-tempered fashion, citing an order by the chief of staff: 'We don't deal with visitors to graves.' 'Who does?' I asked her. 'The Red Cross in Moscow,' she replied. (Is this not a mockery of someone who has traveled thousands of kilometers!) Then she left me. Imagine the situation I was in: It was nighttime. I was in a strange city, a strange country.... I will not describe my tribulations, how I spent the night at the railroad station, how I looked for the cemetery, how I got my return ticket....

"I cannot understand how our military could have issued such an order prohibiting the slightest concern for those who have come to visit the graves of dead soldiers! The duty to them must, I believe, be handed down from generation to generation. What was I to tell my grandson on my return home?!

"Please excuse this sad letter...."

Of course, nobody could have issued such a callous order. But what we have here is indifference in its worst form: How could a soldiers' widow have been left without help so far away from home? Indeed, it boggles the mind.

Here is a letter from Moscow. It was sent to the editorial office by O. Bar-biryukov, veteran of the Armed Forces.

"...Quite a few men wounded in Afghanistan are now undergoing treatment in the Burdenko Central Military Hospital," he writes. "They have neither family nor friends in Moscow. On Saturdays and Sundays we observe the following with aching hearts: A group of 'Afghans' out for a walk—one pushing his (legless) comrade in a wheelchair, others hobbling along on crutches.... And nobody to visit them! I recall the war, at that time servicemen who were in hospitals were very often visited by delegations from plants, enterprises, or schools from near or far. They used to bring gifts, even if only modest (and this is beside the point!), organized sponsored concerts—generally did everything they could to somehow help the wounded.

"What has happened to us?", the veteran asks. "After all, these are our children—18 to 20-year-old kids—and many of them are already invalids.... For shame. Shame on our Komsomol, shame on us all for our indifference...."

It is sad to read such things. Where and when did we lose the sensitivity and sympathy without which we would all find it more difficult to live?

Indifference, like a plague, has gradually, unnoticeably infected many people's souls. Indifference is multifaceted, at times it takes the most surprising form.

Many readers write about indifference on the part of officials: An officer has not been allowed to use a car to take his sick wife to hospital (apparently this also happens); some commanders and political workers are

indifferent to the fate of young officers (quite a few letters on this topic, too); there are many people who are indifferent to one another—they ignore someone else's sadness, do not help, at times do not even show sympathy for a fellow serviceman who has been struck by misfortune... Yet the rule of "Save your comrade even at the cost of getting killed" has always been the law in our Army.

Yes, in the process of restructuring we must also master this aspect of our character—we must restore to our souls the ability to show compassion and sympathy.